Marcus Aurelius' Rain Miracle and the Marcomannic Wars

PÉTER KOVÁCS

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By

Péter Kovács

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On the cover: Rain God (photo by the author).

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[1] The Hungarian version of my work was published in 2005: P. Kovács, Marcus Aurelius esőcsodája és a markomann háborúk. Pécs 2005.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACD	Acta Classica Universitatis Debreceniensis
Acta Antiqua	Acta Antiqua Academicae Scientiarum Hungaricae
Acta ArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Hungarica
Acta SS.	Acta Sanctorum
AÉp	L'Année Épigraphique
AIIN	Annali dell'Istituto di Numismatica
AIJ	V. Hoffiler – B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien I. Noricum und Pannonia Superior. Zagreb 1938
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ArchRozl	Archeologické Rozhledy
ArchIug	Archaeologia Iugoslavica
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BHAC	Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium
BJb	Bonner Jahrbücher
BMC	Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei
BullArchAlg	Bulletin d'Archeologie Algerienne
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
Chron. Min. I	Chronica Minora I. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antquissimi IX. Ed. Th. Mommsen Berlin 1892
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historicorum Byzantinorum
CW	The Classical World
DissPann	Dissertationes Pannonicae
DizEp	Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica
G.C.S.	Die griechsichen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte

HABES	Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien
HJb	Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher
IGLR	E. Popescu, Inscripţiile greceşti şi latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România. Bucureşti 1976
ILAfr	R. Cagnat – A. Merlin – L. Chatelain, Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc). Paris 1923
ILJ	A. Šašel – J. Šašel, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MMCMLX repertae et editae sunt. Situla 5. Ljubljana 1963. A. Šašel – J. Šašel, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt. Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978. A. Šašel – J. Šašel, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt. Situla 25. Ljubljana 1986
ILS	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I–III. Berlin 1983–1916
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JÖAI	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien
JRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
JRS	Journal of Roman studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
MEFRA	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Francaise de Rome, Antiquité
MelArchHist	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire
MGH AA	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antquissimi
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores
Mitt.DAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)
NGG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NJb	Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassischen Altertum
PamArch	Památky Archeologické
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PL	Patrologia Latina
PWRE	Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

RevNum	Revue Numismatique
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RGA	Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde
RheinMus	Rheinisches Museum
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage
RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns
RLiÖ	Der römische Limes in Österreich
SAWW	Sitzungberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien
SBAW	Sitzungberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali
SIRIS	L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae. Berlin 1969
ThLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
TRH	Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum I. Ed. P. Kovács. Budapest-Bonn 2005
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae

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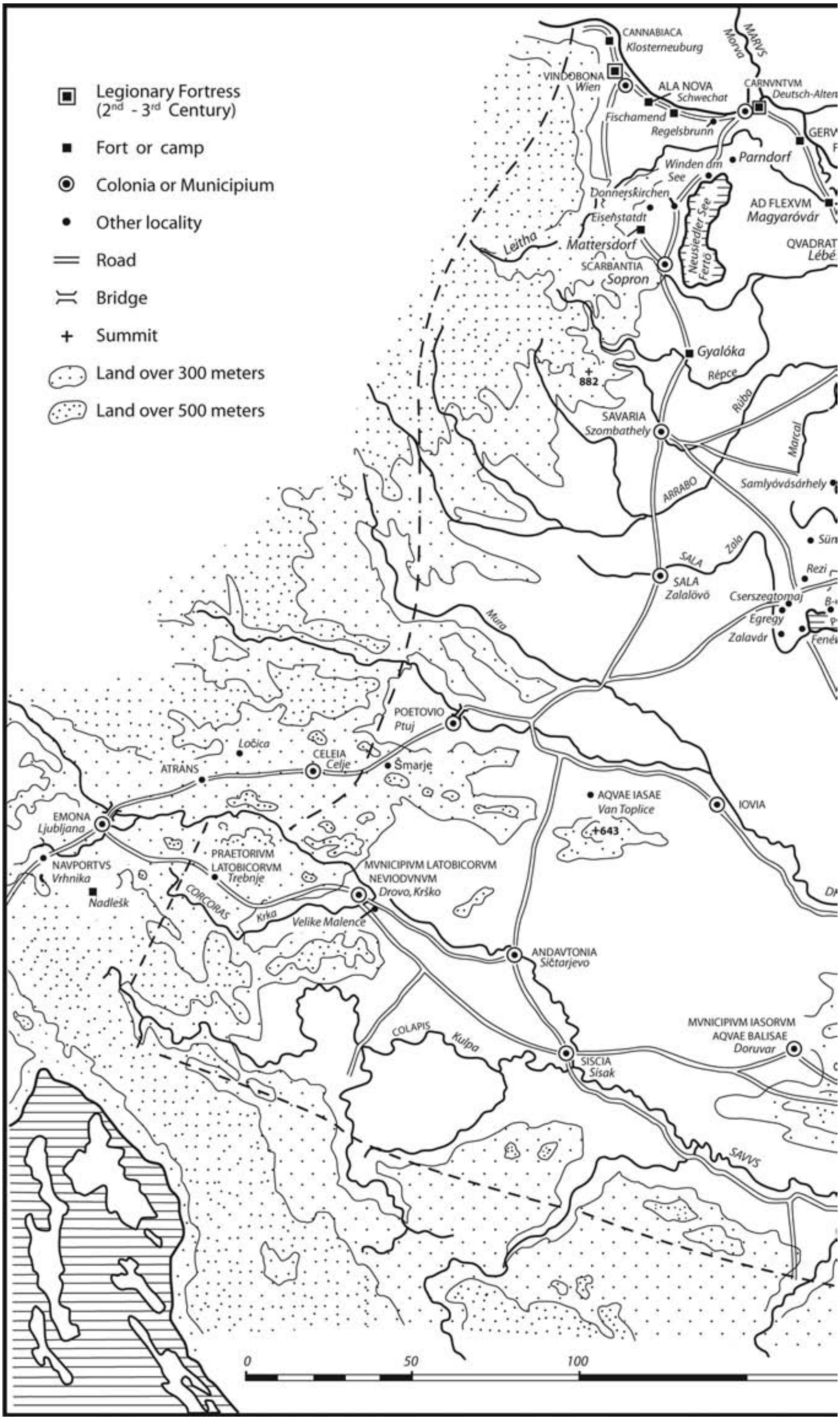
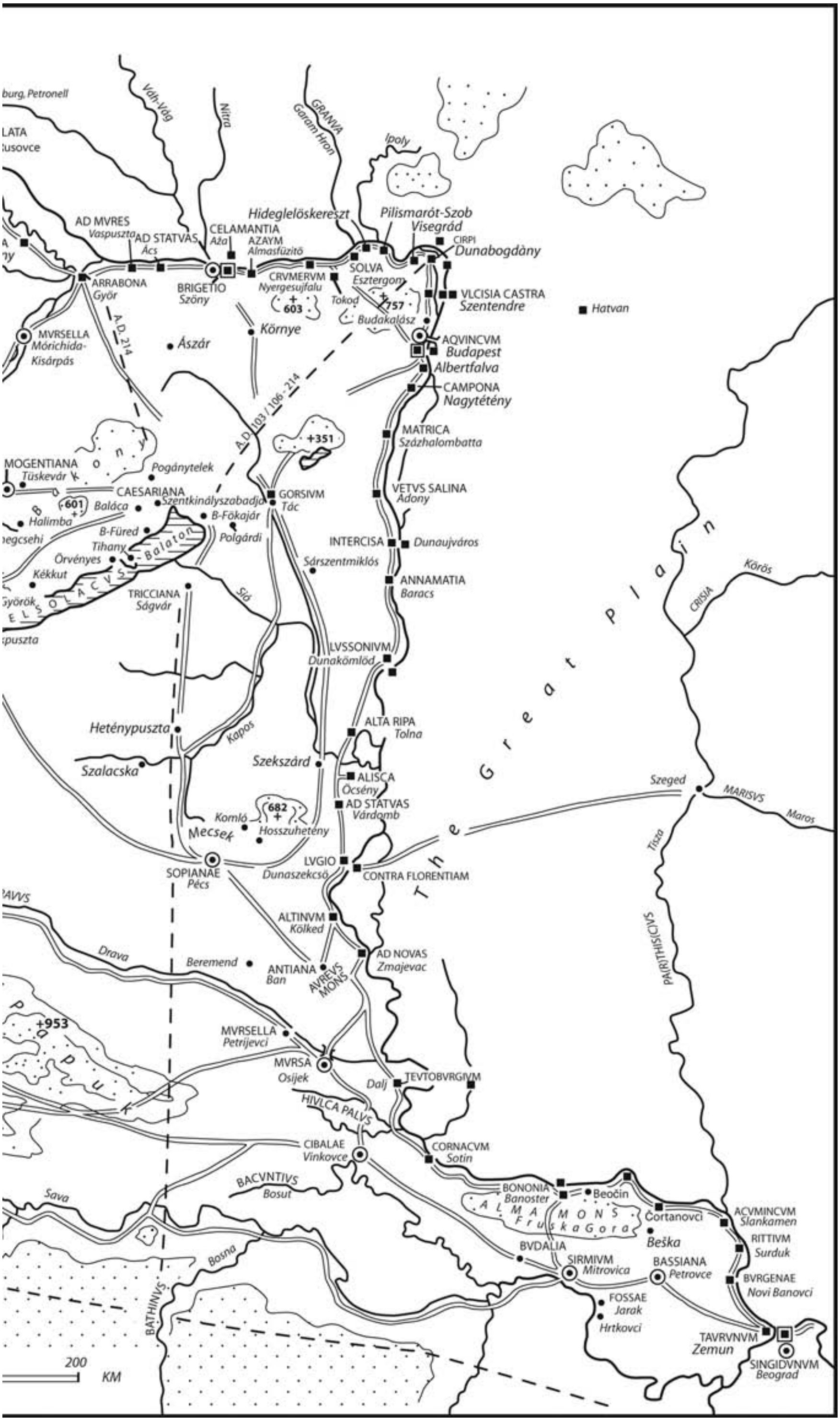


Pannonia in the second century (after Mócsy 1974).



burg, Petronell
LATA
Rusovce
Váh-Vág
Nitra
GRANVA
Garam Hron
Ipoly
Hideglelöskereszt
Pilismarót-Szob
Visegrád
CIRPI
Dunabogdàny
AD MVRES
Vaspuszta
AD STATVAS
Ács
CELAMANTIA
Aža
AZAYM
Almasfüzitö
SOLVA
Esztergom
CRVMERVM
Nyergesujfalu
603
Tokod
757
VLCISIA CASTRA
Szentendre
Hatvan
ARRABONA
Györ
BRIGETIO
Szöny
Budakalász
Környe
AQVINCVM
Budapest
Albertfalva
MVRSELLA
Mórichida-Kisárpás
Ászár
A.D. 214
A.D. 103 / 106 - 214
CAMPONA
Nagytétény
MATRICA
Százhalombatta
+351
MOGENTIANA
Tüskevár
Pogánytelek
CAESARIANA
Baláca
601
Szentkirálystabadja
B-Fökajár
Halimba
B-Füred
Polgárdi
GORSIVM
Tác
VETVS SALINA
Adony
Tihany
Balaton
Örvényes
Kékkut
Györök
PELSO LACVS
puszta
TRICCIANA
Ságvár
Sió
Sárszentmiklós
INTERCISA
Dunaujváros
ANNAMATIA
Baracs
LVSSONIVM
Dunakömlöd
The Great Plain
Körös
CRISIA
ALTA RIPA
Tolna
Heténypuszta
Kapos
Szekszárd
Szalacska
ALISCA
Öcsény
AD STATVAS
Várdomb
682
Komló
Hosszuhetény
Mecsek
Szeged
MARISVS
Maros
Tisza
SOPIANAE
Pécs
LVGIO
Dunaszekcsö
CONTRA FLORENTIAM
DRAVVS
Drava
ALTINVM
Kölked
AD NOVAS
Zmajevac
Beremend
ANTIANA
Ban
AVREVS MONS
PA(R)THIS(C)VS
+953
Papuk
MVRSELLA
Petrijevci
MVRSA
Osijek
Dalj
TEVTOBVRGIVM
HIVLCA PALVS
CIBALAE
Vinkovce
CORNACVM
Sotin
BACVNTIVS
Bosut
BONONIA
Banoster
Beočin
ALMA MONS
Fruska Gora
Čortanovci
Beška
ACVMINCVM
Slankamen
RITTIVM
Surduk
Sava
Bosna
BVDALIA
SIRMIVM
Mitrovica
BASSIANA
Petrovce
BVRGENAE
Novi Banovci
FOSSAE
Jarak
Hrtkovci
TAVRVNVM
Zemun
SINGIDVNVM
Beograd
BATHINVS
200
KM

INTRODUCTION

The most significant and longest war of the Roman imperial period (A.D. 166–180) is undoubtedly the war Marcus Aurelius waged with the northern German and Sarmatian tribes.[1] His co-emperor, Verus, died in Altinum (A.D. 169) during this war and Marcus himself also passed away during the campaigns in Pannonia in March, 180. It was also no coincidence that books 1 and 2 of the emperor's *Meditations* were written in Pannonia and the neighbouring Barbaricum, as, due to the crisis, the emperor was obliged to spend his last 13 years in Pannonia. Fortunately we have an abundance of sources concerning the history of the wars apart from Marcus' biography of the *Historia Augusta* and excerpts from the work of Cassius Dio. Many written and epigraphic ancient sources are at our disposal. Moreover, Marcus' Column, or, by its official Latin name, the *columna centenaria (Divorum Marci et Faustinae)* has also survived depicting the events of the wars. The consequences of the war were dire, the myth of invincible Rome faded forever while reception now seemed a real and reachable goal for the barbarian peoples neighbouring the empire. In addition, the plague brought into Europe following the war and the Parthian campaign took a significant toll in human life as well as fiscally, damaging the economy of Rome. The ever-increasing role of the military already foreshadowed the period of the soldier emperors.

In spite of the abundance of data available, or precisely due to it, very different accounts have been written relating to the chronology of the war years, even up until today. When the Marcomannic-Quadian invasion of Italy took place, which is rather important for the chronology of the war, is debated; all the years between A.D. 166 and 171 have been argued for. In spite of Cassius Dio's exact dating it is not certain when the so-called rain miracle (more precisely, the lightning and rain miracles) took place (ancient sources date them to 171–174). Which period of the war(s) is depicted by the Column of Marcus Aurelius is

[1] The universally applied term 'Marcomannic wars' is hardly correct as apart from this tribe many other German and other tribes participated in the two wars. Yet, the expression was used as early as antiquity; therefore its modern usage can also not be deemed incorrect (see below).

also fiercely debated. Important arguments support the theory that it encompasses only the period between 171(172) and 175 of the first war (E. Petersen, A. von Domaszewski, W. Zwikker, C. Caprino and many others), while according to others (Th. Mommsen, J. Morris, H. Wolff) the events of the first and second Germanic wars can also be recognized in the scenes.

In this work I shall discuss all three questions separately; I will examine the rain miracle of Marcus Aurelius in great detail; moreover, I shall attempt to establish the date of the Italian invasion and sketch out the history of the Marcomannic wars according to the ancient sources. Examining the rain miracle from close-up as well as its dating can also help in a better understanding of the scenes on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, thus also making the chronological order of the events clearer. Establishing the chronology only becomes possible by examining the entire corpus of source material. The manuscript was partly translated by E. Hulyák, Sz. Kincse, E. Kiss and M. Könczöl.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RAIN MIRACLE

In the ancient and medieval sources on Marcus Aurelius' Marcomannic-Sarmatian wars, one event, or rather, two events, were of the utmost significance. During the first war (between A.D. 169 and 175), divine intervention—a lightning and rain miracle—saved the Roman troops, surrounded by the Quadi and suffering from a water shortage. Thunderbolts struck the enemy while the rain soothed the Romans' suffering. The sources concur so far; however, a fierce debate evolved over which god's intervention the aid could be attributed and whether the person who brought about the miracle was the emperor personally. The sources mainly refer to a letter Marcus Aurelius supposedly wrote to the senate giving an account of these miraculous events. The question of the identity of the god soon entered the limelight of the debate in both pagan and Christian circles. A Christian tradition that can be traced back to Apollinaris and Tertullian attributed the miracle to a prayer of the Christian soldiers of the *legio XII fulminata*, while a pagan tradition designated different gods and persons as related to the events. It soon became a widespread view that the miracle occurred through the personal prayer of Marcus Aurelius (see book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina*); however, thanks to Cassius Dio a version that attributed the rain to Hermes Aerios, who supposedly provided aid to the thirsty soldiers through an Egyptian magician also became known fairly soon. According to another, later, tradition the miracle was brought about by Julian Theurgist, a Chaldean magician. The situation is even more complicated due to a letter, certainly a forgery, attributed to Marcus Aurelius and attached to the 14th century manuscripts of Justin, the church father. The letter seems to have drawn a significant number of details from some surprisingly accurate sources.

The dates of the events, similarly, are much debated; ancient sources have indicated every year between A.D. 171 and 174. The written sources can be verified with the aid of the scenes on Marcus' Column, as the two events were depicted separately (scenes XI and XVI). Marcus participates personally in the first event, while he does not appear in

the second. At the same time, the depiction of the rain miracle on the column does not reinforce any of the written traditions.

Due to the debates on the contradictory sources and the continuous presence of the Christian tradition, the event was well known during the Middle Ages and was dealt with a great deal in the East and the West; it can even be found in Syrian sources. Modern literature dealing with the events is similarly lengthy; the question has provoked surprisingly heated debates in the research since the end of the 19th century. Thus, a short section dealing with the history of research is necessary in order to summarise contradictory views briefly.

First, I will discuss the earliest and most accurate source, the scenes on Marcus' Column. The commentary on the written sources in chronological order is an exceedingly important chapter for following the traditions of scholarship. This chapter ends with a summary dealing with the late tradition of the miracle. I shall deal separately with the coin depictions that, in my opinion, are associated mistakenly with the events and I will also discuss the question of the forged letter of Marcus Aurelius. The letter has surprisingly correct topographical data. I shall attempt to reconstruct the actual events in a summary following this section, and then I shall return to discuss further the dating of the scenes on Marcus' Column. This examination will enable the determination of the exact dates of the events.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH HISTORY OF THE RAIN MIRACLE

Interest in the Classical past was a hallmark of humanist scholarship in the 17th century. This led to the collection of information about various material remains of the Roman past, including a description (with etchings) of Marcus Aurelius' column by P. S. Bartoli and G. Bellori.[1] Interest then died down for over a century, but debates on the rain miracle that had happened during Marcus Aurelius' northern wars flared up anew after 1893. This date can be linked to an event during William II's visit to Rome, during which the German emperor inspected the scenes depicting Germans on Marcus Aurelius' column and photographs were taken of some of the scenes, including those of the rain miracle. Owing to the emperor's support, work began that resulted in the basic publication of Petersen–Domaszewski–Calderini (Marcus-Säule) in 1896, which also contains photographic documentation of the 116 scenes that they identified on the column. It was only then that Bartoli and Bellori's work lost its importance. E. Petersen was the first among the researchers of the column to pay attention to the rain miracle and its ancient sources.[2] As one of the most important starting points of his study, he scrutinised the common elements of the different sources and their origin(s). He identified five basic features in the Christian tradition, although the elements do not appear together in the sources: 1. The role of the lightning. 2. The prayer of the Christian soldiers of the *legio XII fulminata*. 3. The honorific title of *legio fulminata*. 4. Reference to Marcus' letter. 5. A prohibition on persecuting Christians. In Apollinaris, only points 2 and 4 appear; in Tertullian points 2, 3, and 4, while all five points can be found in Eusebius. Another of his essential observations was that in certain sources (e.g., in Themistius) the lightning motif does not appear. Finally, Petersen came to the

[1] P. S. Bartoli – G. Bellori, Columna Antoniniana Marci Aurelii Antonini Augusti rebus gestis insignis Germanias simul, et Sarmatis gemino bello devictis ex S. C. Romae in Antonini foro, ad viam Flaminiam, erecta, ac utriusque belli imaginibus anaglyphicae insculpta nunc primum a Petro Sancti Bartolo, iuxta delineationes in bibliotheca Barberiana asservatas, a se cum antiqius ipsius columnae signis collatas, aere incisa, et in lucem edita, cum notis excerptis ex declarationibus Io: Petri Bellorii. Roma 1672.

[2] Petersen 1894.

conclusion that the common origin of all the sources (even Dio) was the depiction on Marcus' column, which may be identified with a *graphe* mentioned by Themistius, who personally visited Rome. The problem was caused by a misinterpretation which has misled the whole tradition. There are no thirsty soldiers, only a rainstorm and a flooding stream destroying the enemy. In Petersen's conception, the soldiers appeared in the Christian tradition due to a misidentification of the barbarians who figure on the scene of the lightning miracle (XI) defending the opposite bank; thus, the two scenes were fused into one miracle and became a part of Christian legendry. Petersen compared the rain god of the column to Ovid's description of Notus (Met. I, 264–269).

Not much later, the questions posed by Petersen were answered by A. Harnack, who thoroughly examined every source concerning the miracle and first drew the stemma of the sources.[3] Harnack's hypothesis was that the earliest sources, independent of one another (Apollinaris, Tertullian and Cassius Dio), go back to a letter written to the senate by Marcus Aurelius, in which he gave an account of the miracle. In Harnack's opinion the letter's authenticity cannot be contested; since these authors were contemporaries, they wrote just a few decades after the events, and Dio was even a pagan. The common elements of the three sources are as follows: 1. The miserable situation of the Roman army: thirst. 2. Rescue by a divine miracle. 3. The miracle is an *Erhörungswunder*. 4. Marcus' letter. In only Apollinaris' and Dio's work: a. The soldiers stand in ranks. b. Lightning strikes the enemy, i.e., Tertullian does not mention lightning. In the case of the column, he explained the absence of lightning with the contraction of several events into one scene by the artist.[4] Moreover, the account of Gregory of Nyssa goes back to an independent Melitenean tradition containing some elements that do not appear elsewhere: e.g., the flooding stream is only mentioned there, except for the column. Harnack considered the tradition that the *legio XII fulminata* participated in the war to have been possible if it had a vexillation in which even Christian soldiers could serve; according to him the only mistake was the award of the title *fulminata*, which had clearly happened earlier. Harnack has the merit of extending the research to the forged letter of Marcus, certain elements of which he considered authentic. After the publication of his paper, the debate grew even more intriguing.

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[3] Harnack 1894.

[4] This idea is right—as we will see in the case of battle scenes: Pirson 1996.

Another scholar dealing with the column, A. von Domaszewski, formulated a contrary opinion in a short but important article.[5] According to him there was no miracle on the scene of the column; it is merely a representation of a storm. He was the first to conclude that it is impossible to date the miracle to 174, since it is situated among the first scenes on the column, while the events of the year 174 could seemingly only appear at the end. The depiction on the column can only be identical with the miracle mentioned in the sources. Hence, chapter LXXI.10 of Dio must be Xiphilinus' interpolation, which is supported by the false date and the mention of Faustina's title *mater castrorum*. Apollinaris' work is actually identical with Dio's, so Harnack's theory of three independent sources is a mistake and all of these can be traced back to a Christian forgery; for example, Tertullian may have read a forged letter circulating among Christians. We have no information concerning the participation of the *legio XII fulminata* in the war. K. Weizsäcker sided with Petersen in the debate and also considered chapter LXXI.10 of Dio as Xiphilinus' forgery.[6]

Th. Mommsen endeavoured to form an intermediate opinion and tried, following Harnack, to find the authentic historical core of the miracle and the sources.[7] There are five independent sources (Tertullian, Dio, two sources of Eusebius: Apollinaris and Africanus, and the *vita Marci*). All of their details come from Marcus' letter to the senate, which was, as usual published in the *Acta publica*, thus making it available to everyone. In Mommsen's opinion, Dio LXXI.10 can hardly be interpolated (according to him neither the order of the acclamation nor the title of Faustina excludes this possibility) and the events should not be dated on the basis of the column (as done by Domaszewski), but just the opposite. If there is no interpolation in Dio's account, then—parallel to Eusebius' depiction—the rain that rescued the Romans and the lightning that struck the enemy happened at the same time. Only the first event of that double miracle was depicted on the column. Thus, dating the event to 174 is not a mistake; it even dates the column itself, i.e., the scenes of the column begin with the events of the year 174 and finish with those of the war of 178 to 180.[8] In the original letter, Marcus did

[5] Domaszewski 1894.
[6] Weizsäcker 1894.
[7] Mommsen 1894.
[8] That opinion is the basic argument of one side in the ongoing debate concerning the dating of the column.

not name any deity, which provided an opportunity for different (pagan and Christian) interpretations.[9] The participation of the Melitenean legion in the war is doubtful, but it cannot be excluded.

Shortly afterwards, Petersen voiced his negative opinion again.[10] Although he conceded that the Christian tradition cannot be traced back merely to the depictions on the column, he still questioned the authenticity of Marcus' original letter as a common source. With the aid of new photographs he could separate two miracles on the column, the earlier lightning miracle and then the rain miracle. In his opinion, these two miracles were confused in the tradition, which is attested by Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, where the lightning occurs first and only then comes the rain. The original story, that is, the lightning striking down the enemy's siege tower, also depicted on the column, has been preserved only in the *vita Marci*. It is also important that the first event happened in the emperor's presence, while the second did not. Another fact is that in several sources (mostly in earlier ones—Tertullian, Themistius, Oracula Sibyllina) only the rain is mentioned, but the lightning is not. According to Petersen, Gregory of Nyssa's account could hardly be independent of Eusebius' account; in one passage Harnack refers the genitive absolute to the wrong noun (instead of πίστεως he connected the participle to λεγεῶνος).[11] Dio LXXI.10. cannot be an interpolation, since in the next scene on the column one can see the dedition as described by Dio: hence it was Dio himself who fused the two miracles. As for the dating of the miracle, he supported the former date (173) given by Eusebius, since in his opinion neither Verus nor Commodus appears on the column and therefore the events of the second war of 178–180 are not depicted on the column. The date 174 can be reconciled if the imperial acclamation happened one year later, and this was the date Dio referred to. In their publication on Marcus' column, Petersen, Mommsen and Domaszewski repeated their previously stated opinions. Petersen's description still remains the best and most complete survey of the column's scenes, including scenes XI and XVI depicting the miracles.[12] It makes clear that the scene of the rain miracle can hardly depict a simple storm; it comprises more

[9] Hence, in Tertullian's phrase, *Christianorum forte militum precationibus*, the first two words were inserted by the Christian author: Mommsen 1895, 103, Anm. 3.

[10] Petersen 1895.

[11] Petersen 1895, 456, Anm. 1.

[12] Marcus-Säule, 56–57, 58–59.

events, featuring the army marching in *agmen quadratum*, the commander (whose figure is certainly not that of Marcus), Roman soldiers praying for rain then drinking, and also the personification of the rain god and the destruction of the enemy caused by the flooding stream. In his study devoted to the chronology of the war, Mommsen again dated the rain miracle to 174.[13] Similarly insisting on his former opinion, Domaszewski brought new elements to an examination of the problem.[14] Since he thought that the column shows the events from 171 to 175, the Marcomannic war of 171 to 172 and the Sarmatian war of 173 to 175, the two miracles can necessarily be dated to A.D. 171 (they are depicted in the first scenes on the column).[15] Identifying a griffin, the badge of *legio XV Apollinaris*, on the helmet of a soldier in scene XV, he considered it as evidence for the participation of the soldiers of the Cappadocian legion in the war. Domaszewski also developed his opinion elsewhere that the Christian version is based on a forged letter written during the reign of Septimius Severus which could have been the source for Tertullian and Eusebius, who forged Apollinaris.[16]

J. Geffcken joined the debate à propos the examination of the *Oracula Sibyllina*[17] and voiced his opinion in a separate study.[18] His important observation was that the author of book XII of the *Oracula* was not a Christian but a Hellenised Jew, one of the earliest followers of the pagan tradition opposing Christian propaganda, who had connected (albeit falsely) the rain miracle to the person of Marcus Aurelius and the power of his prayer. Geffcken never doubted the existence of Marcus' letter, but, following Mommsen, he denied that it could have dealt with Christians, especially after having examined Marcus' opinion about them in his *Meditationes*. In the text of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, he tried to separate the details stemming from Apollinaris and Eusebius' own insertions. The core of the story, which is surely earlier, followed the original order of the events: the lightning, the flight of the enemy, then the rain. The author then added the prayer of the Christians and a mention of the Melitenean legion. Geffcken was the first to outline

[13] Marcus-Säule, 27.
[14] Marcus-Säule, 107–108, 111–113.
[15] Already in Domaszewski 1895, 120–121.
[16] Domaszewski 1895, 123–128.
[17] Geffcken 1901.
[18] Geffcken 1899.

the process of the conflict of Christian and pagan traditions that started in the early 3rd century: 1. the story of Arnuphis in Dio, and 2. the information of the *Oracula Sibyllina*. According to the author's observation, Rufinus already knew the false letter; there are textual correspondences between the two passages. At almost the same time, K. Praechter was the first to deal briefly with the Byzantine tradition of the rain miracle. According to his interesting observation, besides Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Themistius' pagan variant of the miracle was also preserved in a work of Georgius Acropolites.[19]

After the vehement debates at the turn of the 20th century, the problem, albeit undecided, lay at rest for some time.[20] During further examination of the problem, a detailed analysis of coin pictures emerged as a new element. Although Marcus' issues featuring Mercury on the reverse had already been linked to Dio's Hermes Aerios,[21] W. Weber was the first to deal with them more profoundly.[22] In his work he identified the sanctuary or *aedicula* on the reverse of a coin type minted in A.D. 173 (with the legend RELIG AVG) with an Egyptian-style sanctuary that, in his opinion, was built in Rome by Marcus Aurelius after the rain miracle, provoked by Arnuphis (RIC III (1930) 1074–1076). Later, C. H. Dodd examined the chronology of the war mainly on the basis of numismatic records.[23] In the course of his work, he came to the conclusion concerning the rain miracle that on the basis of the coins with Mercury on the reverse and a medallion depicting Jupiter (striking down barbarians with his lightning) minted in A.D. 173, Dio's date seems to be mistaken; the miracle happened in 173. In his monograph, J. Schwendemann examined the historical reliability of the biography of Marcus in the *Historia Augusta*, necessarily discussing the passage concerning the rain miracle (24. 4).[24] In this work he briefly summarised the research history of the problem, and following Domaszewski, he also accepted the date 171. In his dissertation, J. Rohde analysed the history of the Marcomannic wars.[25] Following Dodd, he dated the miracle to 173 and concluded that the

[19] Praechter 1905.
[20] For useful summaries of previous research see: Zeiller 1918, 42–46, DACL 5 (1923) 2692–2703.
[21] E.g., Petersen 1895, 472–473, Marcus-Säule, 112.
[22] Weber 1910.
[23] Dodd 1913.
[24] Schwendemann 1923, 78–80.
[25] Rohde 1924, 110–120.

scenes on the column start with the events of 173 against the Quadi. A. Gnirs tried to identify the localities topographically with the aid of the geographical references in the scenes on the column.[26] In so doing, he reached the erroneous conclusion that the starting place of the scenes is Carnuntum, that the events of the campaign took place along the Thaya, and thus that the Roman fortress featuring in the rain miracle could be identified with the fortress of Mušov (which he had excavated), and that the Cotini lived north of Mušov.[27] The Cotini could hardly have lived outside of the Carpathian Basin, otherwise M. Vinicius could not have attacked them as he did (cf. ILS 8965), and they could not have been the neighbours of the Iazyges (Tac. Ger. 43).[28] Thus the whole identification is mistaken, just like assuming the territory of the Quadi to have been in Moravia.

J. Dobiáš made a comprehensive analysis of the depictions and similar scenes on Marcus' column.[29] Dobiáš endorsed H. Stuart Jones' theory[30] that the scenes on the column do not necessarily follow each other in chronological order. In his view, some coin pictures from 172 are parallel with the first scenes of the column: Crossing the Danube: scene III, adlocutio: scene IV, Clementia Augusti: scene VIII, depiction of Marcus and Jupiter with lightning (coin and medallion): the lightning miracle: scene XI, mintings figuring Mercury: the rain miracle: scene XVI. Following the order of the minting of the coins, the lightning miracle must have happened in A.D. 172 and the rain miracle in 173.[31] In 1932, research on the Arnuphis branch was reinforced by the discovery in Aquileia of a magician's altar (as *hierogrammateus* on the inscription) dedicated to Isis (AÉp 1934, 245 = Inscriptiones Aquileiae

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[26] Gnirs 1976, 52–63, 70, 76–79.

[27] Gnirs 1976, 58–63.

[28] FPA 1, 238–239, 269–270. This hypothesis often appears elsewhere (e. g., E. Šimek, Velka Germane Klaudia Ptolemaia II. Brno 1935, 174–176, GLQFM II, 574) can be traced back to Ptolemy (II.11.10), who mentions a tribe called Κόγνοι or Κῶγνοι or Κόρνοι in that region. Similar sounding, however, it is not in itself enough to place the Cotini in Moravia, nor is Tacitus' information on iron ore mining (iron ore mines are not rare in Slovakia, either).

[29] Dobiáš 1932, 142–149.

[30] H. Stuart Jones, Notes on Roman historical sculptures III: The "Aurelian" panels of the arch of Constantine. Papers of the British School at Rome 3, 1906, 256–257.

[31] A detailed exposition of his views: J. Dobiáš, K chronologii t. rec. valek markomanskych. Časopis 38, 1930, 21–38, and later: J. Dobiáš, Les frappes de l'empereur Marc-Aurèle au type de Mercure et a la legende RELIG AVG. Numismaticky Sbornik 7, 1962, 29–31.

234), discussed in detail in the 1930s by G. Brusin,[32] J. and L. Robert[33] and A. Calderini,[34] who correctly identified—on the basis of this rare name—one of the dedicators with Dio's Arnuphis.

In 1941, the first part of W. Zwikker's (unfortunately unfinished) basic monograph about Marcus' column was published, providing perhaps the most profound examination of the history of the Marcomannic wars between 166 and 175 to date.[35] He necessarily touched upon the rain miracle and its date.[36] He showed that Dio's date (A.D. 174) cannot be reconciled with the Eusebian tradition (varying between 171 and 173). Furthermore, he stated that Eusebius used pagan sources in his *Chronicon*, while the elements indicating Christian sources are later insertions by an author using Tertullian. The description in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, with all its faults and distortions, in fact stems from Apollinaris of Hierapolis. Marcus' letter existed in reality as well; the reference to Christians is a later insertion by Tertullian. In his view, sources propagating the emperor's personal intercession were a reaction of the anti-Christian pagan tradition. One of Zwikker's greatest merits was that he clearly separated the ominous sentence in the *vita Marci* into two events, where the *machinamentum*, which can only be interpreted as a siege tower, is certainly identifiable with scene XI of the column. In his opinion, the lightning was added to the rain miracle only due to Xiphilinus' interpolation. The first event happened in the presence of the emperor, while the impersonal ablative absolute *pluvia impetrata* does not necessarily assume the emperor's presence. Tertullian mistook the rain miracle for the earlier event, assuming Marcus' presence in Ad Scapulam 4. It is also supported by the fact that Pertinax is the commander in the *Chronicon* and Zwikker, scrutinizing his *cursus honorum*, came to the conclusion that the miracle could probably be dated to 172, but neither can 173 be excluded. Not much later, A. G. Roos expressed his opinion on this question and defended Dio's 174 date.[37] Roos thought to solve the contradiction between the depiction on the column and Dio's date by assuming that the events on the column do

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[32] G. Brusin, Gli scavi di Aquileia, un quadriennio di attività dell'Associazione per Aquileia (1929–1932). Udine 1934, 166.

[33] J. Robert – L. Robert, Bulletin épigraphique. REG 57, 1944, 239, No. 202.

[34] A. Calderini, L'iscrizione aquileiese di Harnuphis. Aquileia nostra 8–9, 1937–1938, 67–72.

[35] Zwikker 1941.

[36] Zwikker 1941, 206–219, 240–241, 246–247, 262–263.

[37] Roos 1943.

not follow any chronological order. Moreover, the two depictions of the miracles were placed on the lower part for better visibility, similarly to scene XIII, misidentified as the sacrifice of lions mentioned by Lucian. In Roos' view, examination of the coins depicting Mercury is not conclusive, since it was Pertinax who led the Roman troops during the rain miracle and the emperor was still distrustful or even jealous of his commander at that time. Given that, Marcus could hardly have accepted and popularized that version officially.

At the end of the 1940s, J. Guey devoted several essays to the question of the miracle and its date, elaborating mainly on the Arnuphis line.[38] In his first article, he dealt with the chronology of the rain miracle, and, after thoroughly investigating the problem, suggested the date 172 based on the column's depictions (the chronological order of which was questioned without any other evidence) and the coin types mentioned above. He dealt separately with the coins with the legend RELIG AVG (I–II)[39] and the person of Julian. Based on the data of the Suda, Guey suggested that the magus could have cooperated with Arnuphis in the preparation of the miracle.[40] In parts III and IV, published separately, Guey further examined the date of the miracle. First, he tried to prove the impossibility of Dio's date (174) by examining Xiphilinus' *Epitome*; then, he argued in favour of the earlier of the two dates (172 and 173) that were possible based on the column and the coins.[41] Following Zwikker, he argued that in chapter LXXI.10 of Dio there is a gap between the rain miracle and the VIIth imperial acclamation: the Romans won only a small victory, and a greater one followed only in 174, two years after the rain miracle. This could be confirmed by the placement of the miracle's description in the *Epitome*, as Xiphilinus reported it separately, taking it out of the original chronological order. In his view, it speaks for the latter that if it had happened in the summer of 173 there would not have been enough time to announce the completion of the shrine in Rome on the coins struck between December A.D. 172 and December 173 (TRIB POT XXVII). There is no trace of the rain miracle on the coins minted in the second part of 172. In his opinion (here he partially follows Roos) that might be due to the fact that Marcus did not yet have complete

[38] Guey 1948, Guey 1948a, Guey 1949.
[39] Guey 1948.
[40] Guey 1948, 107–108.
[41] Guey 1949.

trust in Pertinax, who had fallen under suspicion previously, and the official propaganda for that version of the miracle could follow only after his doubts had been assuaged. In his third study, Guey dealt with the person and career of Arnuphis and the problem of identifying Hermes Aerios.[42] In his opinion, Arnuphis came to Rome in 167 during the epidemic, when the *peregrini ritus* were carried out, then he followed the emperors to Aquileia (the Aquileian inscription can be connected to that), and he was a member of Marcus' court during the war; in 172 it was he who provoked the miracle, and the next year he was in Rome because of the construction of the Hermes shrine. The Egyptian *hierogrammateis*, experts in the sacred hieroglyphs, were, in his view, necessarily acquainted with magic (cf. Suda I 176). In the course of his research, he came to the conclusion that in the Graeco-Roman world the god's epithet Aerios had been previously unknown, hence Arnuphis should be sought for in the Egyptian pantheon, and, as a result, he identified Hermes Aerios with Thot-Shou, god of the air. As that god was still unknown among the Romans' gods, i.e., the cult had yet been accepted, Marcus necessarily attributed the miraculous event to Jupiter (cf. the depiction of Jupiter with the *quadriga* on the medallion from 173); Hermes Aerios may only have served as a medium. This was the reason that his role later disappeared.

In the course of re-dating the column, J. Morris also dealt with the problem of the miracles.[43] According to him, the column depicts scenes of both wars from 173 on, therefore the lightning miracle happened in 173, while a new year begins with scene XIII, hence Dio's 174 date for the rain miracle is correct. István Borzsák discussed the history of the medieval Latin reception of the miracle in the 1950s, mainly based on the works of the Hungarian humanist, Péter Bornemissza, in particular Bornemissza's Hungarian translation and commentary on Rufinus' Latin translation of the *Ecclesiastical History*.[44] Borzsák gave a short summary of the research on the problem and tried to outline the phases in the formation of the Christian legend. The Italian basic edition of Marcus' column did not bring anything new from the aspect of the rain miracle; the authors considered 172 as the most probable date, but did not exclude 173.[45] They examined the question while trying

[42] Guey 1948a.
[43] Morris 1952.
[44] Borzsák 1960, 242–250.
[45] Caprino 1955, 54, 86, 88–89, Becatti 1960, 48, n. 95.

to decide to what extent the rain miracle helps to date the scenes of the column. M. Sordi was the first to oppose the overstatement of the role of coin pictures.[46] In his view, coins with the figure of Mercury fit well into Marcus' propaganda, so they do not refer to any miracle. The Egyptian-style shrine only demonstrates the respect of Marcus, the philosopher, towards Hermes Trismegistus.

A good summary of the actual state of research was given by Gábor Barta in 1968.[47] In his opinion, the emergence of the whole legend was connected to the rivalry between pagan and Christian circles. He followed Petersen's opinion that Dio gave the real date of the acclamation (174), and parts of his work between 172, the year of the miracle, and the acclamation were simply omitted by Xiphilinus, who linked the two events by mistake. At the same time, R. Merkelbach briefly discussed the textual tradition of Marcus' forged letter, demonstrating that the current version was composed by contamination of two previous versions, which explains why parallel variants of some sentences survived in the manuscript.[48] Simultaneously, R. Freudenberger dealt anew with the letter, summarising the whole tradition of the rain miracle.[49] The letter was written in the first half of the 4th century A.D. The core of the whole miracle may have been the storm that took place in the presence of the vexillations of the soldiers of the legions *X fretensis* and *XII fulminata*, commanded by Pertinax.

After Harnack, D. Berwig scrutinised the tradition of the rain miracle the most thoroughly, especially its sources.[50] His special merit is that he examined both the pictures on the column and coins, and established the most detailed stemma of the sources, which is very useful despite its internal contradictions. For example, according to the stemma, the Quelle X does not rely directly on the letter, but in the text (pp. 139–140) it is dated to Marcus' age, which may have been the source of both Xiphilinus and the forged letter of Marcus. Dio appears only as a source relying on the letter, although he referred to earlier sources, and Berwig also argued (pp. 156–157) that he knew and used the depictions on the column. A remark has to be made here: if two sources give the same—or in this case rather a similar—report of the

[46] Sordi 1957–1959.
[47] Barta 1968.
[48] Merkelbach 1968.
[49] Freudenberger 1968.
[50] Berwig 1970, 103–162.

events, it does not necessarily show their dependence on each other. They may well originate from a common source and their similarity is only due to other independent sources that give reliable accounts of the events. In his dissertation, Berwig stressed the comparison of sources: Apollinaris, Tertullian, and Dio, later Christian and pagan traditions, written sources, and depictions. In Apollinaris' version, the misidentification of the *legio XII fulminata*, and the contamination of the two miracles, which is absent in Tertullian, can be ascribed to Apollinaris. The kneeling soldiers appear in both Christian authors, while only Tertullian uses—even cites—the letter. It was, in Berwig's view, unknown to Apollinaris. Because of the differences in these authors, they cannot be proven to be dependent. In Berwig's opinion, Dio, who knew Apollinaris' works(!), contrasted Arnuphis' story with the Christian version. The incorrect combination of the lightning and rain miracles in Apollinaris and Dio would support that hypothesis. In later Christian sources that repeat information from the two earlier Christian authors (except perhaps for Gregory of Nyssa), the forged letter does not stem from the 4th century, it is a much later, medieval, forgery which used Xiphilinus as well (LXXI.9: common words: *tagma, eparkhos*). Marcus' personal participation in the event is a new element in later pagan authors—their main source could be Dio. In Berwig's opinion, the scenes on the column are not in chronological order nor can the coin depictions be identified with the rain miracle (the figure of Hermes cannot be recognized in the scene on the column, which is the least remote in time from the coins), so the original 174 date should remain.

Z. Rubin dealt anew with the problem of the rain miracle mainly based on Guey's works.[51] He related the mintings with the figure of Mercury to the rain miracle with certainty. He also examined how the officially accepted Arnuphis version might have disappeared after a couple of years, given that the later version of the court made Jupiter the god of the miracle (cf. the column and Tertullian), and why it appeared on Marcus' mintings in 172, only half a year after the event. This delay cannot be explained by jealousy against Pertinax (cf. Guey). In the course of his work, Rubin came to the (somewhat complicated) conclusion that Marcus had to introduce the cult of the foreign god (a *superstitio* at that time) officially in Rome, and that is why RELIG

[51] Rubin 1976. See I. Israeolowich, The rain miracle of Marcus Aurelius: (re-)construction of consensus. Greece & Rome 55, 2008, 83–102.

AVG became the reverse legend of the coins related to this event. Later on, the cult of Thot-Shou disappeared, since for the masses it was more popular and more intelligible to attribute the miracle to Jupiter, and Marcus conformed to that; however, the chief god's figure is not depicted on the column. It shows the still insecure circumstances that passed in a few years, as we know from Tertullian.

István Tóth also examined the Egyptian version of the miracle, investigating how it helped Egyptian cults to spread in the Danubian region.[52] Great euphoria was caused among the researchers of the rain miracle by a false reading of the inscription on a fragmented altar of Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg (AÉp 1982, 778 = 1991, 1309), on the basis of which it was supposed, following W. Jobst, that the date of the rain miracle could be determined exactly: 11 June 172. Given that, several scholars thought that the debate had come to an end and the miracle happened in 172.[53] M. M. Sage linked the lightning miracle rather than the rain miracle with that date.[54] During the publication of the inscriptions from Carnuntum-Pfaffenberg, I. Piso made it clear that the altar must be dated earlier, to A.D. 159, and the question of 11 June has nothing to do with the rain miracle.[55]

The examination of the coins of Marcus Aurelius has similarly led to the insight that the depictions on the reverses cannot really be linked to the rain and the lightning miracles. W. Szaivert[56] and G. Schindler-Horstkotte[57] independently came to the same conclusion that the date 174 is correct. According to Szaivert, the mintings with the figure of Mercury may be connected with the rain miracle, but this is doubtful. Since this type fits well among the types minted during the war (SECVRITAS PVBLICA, RESTITVTORI ITALIAE, types depicting Germans), the date 174 is more probable; neither does the god figure on the column support that. Mercury's figure in turn is better identified with Hermes Trismegistos of the Egyptian gods. Furthermore, Szaivert argued that the depiction of Jupiter on the medallion from the year 173 is too general to refer to specific events.

[52] Tóth 1976.

[53] Jobst 1977, D. Knibbe, I(uppiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) K(arnuntinus), Kaiser Marcus, Faustina, Commodus und der 11. Juni 172 n. Chr. JÖAI 54, 1983, 133–142, Salomies 1990.

[54] M. M. Sage, Marcus Aurelius and "Zeus Kasios" at Carnuntum. Ancient Society 18, 1987, 151–172.

[55] Piso 2003, 21–22, Nr. 6.

[56] Szaivert 1986, Szaivert 1993.

[57] Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 42–64.

According to Schindler-Horstkotte, the previous interpretation of the coins with the legend RELIG AVG (especially that of Rubin) lacks support since after the beginning of the 2nd century the senate had no influence on bronze coin minting. This type appeared earlier; the reason was probably not the introduction of a cult previously approved by the senate (*religio* instead of *superstitio*, which caused the delay), which also had to be accepted by Marcus. Examining the Arnuphis version, one should bear in mind that Dio named other gods besides Hermes. Moreover, according to Schindler-Horstkotte, it is inconceivable that such an unknown god, not officially accepted by the state, could have been accepted as the cause of such an important event.

G. Fowden examined the pagan versions of the rain miracle.[58] Accepting the 172 date, he discussed all three pagan versions (Jupiter, Arnuphis, Julian) of the rain miracle separately. According to him, Dio's 174 date could be explained by Xiphilinus' omission. One of the greatest merits of Fowden's article is that it was the first to deal with Julian's version and touched upon the miraculous stories of the magus that appear even in Psellus' works. As I will discuss the figure of Julian separately, I will not give a detailed account of Fowden's reasoning here. In the same volume, M. M. Sage scrutinised the sources of the Eusebian tradition.[59] One of his important observations was that Eusebius referred to his sources (λόγος ἔχει) twice, leaving it to the reader to decide on the truth of the story. The fictitious person of Marcus Aurelius Caesar was inserted by Eusebius so that the person of the emperor who was involved in the miracle would not be blemished because of the subsequent persecution of Christians in Lugdunum. A description of the miracle could occur in any of Apollinaris' works (according to Sage it was the Πρὸς Ἕλληνας); there is no evidence that it appeared in the Λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον. Hence, Apollinaris' version could have been written after Marcus' death but before 190, since by that time Apollinaris was certainly dead (H. E. V.19.1). The *Chronicon*'s source could be *Sex. Iulius Africanus*; there is no evidence for a pagan source. The 172 date of the Armenian version is due to an insertion during the redaction, a mistaken dating of consuls. Pertinax appears in the text through Africanus; there is no proof that he really

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[58] Fowden 1987.
[59] Sage 1987.

was the commander of the Roman troops. In any case, he questioned the authenticity of the miracle. Given that, it is not worth scrutinising whether it was Eusebius himself who forged the description of the story (as Domaszewski thought). Parallel passages of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* assembled by Sage show this fact, or the opinion of Eusebius, that after Irenaeus miracles disappeared from the history of the Christian Church and examples occur only in passion stories. The author inferred that Marcus' letter is merely Tertullian's fiction and that Apollinaris' influence can be shown in Tertullian. Here Sage could not explain the fact that only the rain miracle appears in Tertullian, without the lightning. The author probably did not omit the lightening associated with Jupiter in order to "Christianise" the miracle.

R. Klein dealt with the problem of the rain miracle while analyzing the details of the *vita Marci*.[60] He concluded that the pagan and Christian versions of the miracle were written as answers to one another as early as Dio (in this case, would Dio have known the works of Apollinaris or Tertullian?). In his view, Marcus becomes a participant or even the one invoking the miracle only in late ancient pagan sources, to suppress Christian propaganda. Here Klein disregarded that book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina* was composed not much later than Dio's work. According to Domaszewski, it was Tertullian who inserted the words *Christianorum forte* in the original text of the letter, which did not name any god. Klein accepted the 174 date, arguing that the depiction of the medallion cited above is too general, so it could not refer to any specific event. The Arnuphis version mentioned by Dio stems from another source (λόγος ἔχει); Dio does not describe it as his own. The mintings of the Mercury type do not refer to the miracle either, and the Arnuphis version is also seen as a response to the Christian version. Dio LXXI.10 is not an interpolation, but the pagan author's own imaginative depiction of the miracle read in other sources, in which he—similarly to Christian authors—fused the two separate events. Klein's interesting observation is that Orosius also refers to rain miracles or natural wonders in the context of other important events (Hannibal against Rome: 4.17.5, Theodosius' prayer in the battle at Frigidus: 7.35.12–14). Orosius refers to the letter twice, which could imply a difference in his sources, or that the author had only the second letter at hand, which he

[60] Klein 1989.

did not really trust.[61] According to Klein the information in the *Historia Augusta* refers to two separate events, and he proposes that the pagan author of the *vita Marci* relied here on the depiction on the column (they had a common source or perhaps the events really happened in that order). In Klein's view, there is no evidence that the information in the vita stems from Marius Maximus; moreover, the underlining of Marcus' role corresponds too closely to the interests of pagan circles at the turn of the 5th century. According to him, the depictions of the miracle on the column show the restraint with which Marcus treated the problem, i.e., he did not mention any particular god by name.

A. R. Birley touched upon the problem of the rain miracle several times in his biography of Marcus.[62] There he summarised the events and a short history of research, arguing for the 172 date. According to his important observation, the data of Marcus' forged letter might stem at the least from a partly reliable source. H. Wolff devoted three papers to the problem of the rain miracle, trying to re-date the depictions on the column.[63] Wolff first examined the rain miracle itself, then its date. He came to several important conclusions:

1. Apollinaris does not mention the letter because he addressed his work to Marcus and it would have been unnecessary to mention it.
2. It is possible that the original letter contained a list of the units, including the *legio XII fulminata*.
3. It is certain that Marcus named no particular god.
4. Dio LXXI.10. is not interpolated; lightning helped the Romans twice.
5. The Arnuphis version is based on rather weak arguments: a. Dio refers to another source. b. Arnuphis was with Marcus in the camp. c. Hermes does not appear on the column. d. The identification of Hermes Aerios with Thot-Shou is not sure; the coins only depict an Egyptian-style temple. e. At the official recognition ceremony of Thot-Shou, Marcus should have been present in Rome as *pontifex maximus*. f. Tertullian names Jupiter. g. No particular god could have been mentioned in the letter or else the debate between pagans and Christians would not have been possible.

[61] Klein 1989, 132, Anm. 44.
[62] Birley 1987, 171–174, 252–253, 262, 267, 297.
[63] Wolff 1989, Wolff 1990, Wolff 1993.

6. There cannot be any omission in Dio LXXI.10, since Dio relates the acclamation to the miraculous event (παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων).

Wolff also focused on dating the scenes on Marcus' column. Since he considered the rain miracle as the only event on the column that can be dated securely, it had to be the starting point, i.e., the column necessarily begins with the year 174. Commodus is indeed absent from the column, but the young Augustus did not participate personally in the second war either, hence he was not depicted. Wolff elaborated on his previous opinion on the sources of the rain miracle, according to which, based on Dio's account (LXXI.8.4 and LXXI.10.4), Marcus was nearby if not present. The Arnuphis branch is clearly a side story; scene XI shows simple lightning, about which Marcus did not care (the lightning is part of the rain miracle). According to his important observation, Jerome dates the miracle to the 238th Olympiad (173 to 176, without an exact year), while the Armenian version of the *Chronicon* dates it to the first year of the 238th Olympiad, the 2188th year after Abraham's birth and the 12th year of the reign of Marcus, i.e., 172.[64] The *Chronicon Paschale* is shifted by two years, so he dates Marcus' death to A.D. 178! In Dio LXXI.10 there is no interpolation or omission, both Xiphilinus and the *Excerpta Ursiniana* follow the chronological order. The building of the Egyptian-style temple depicted on the coins may have been decided by Marcus earlier, during the epidemic of 167, and thus it was not necessarily finished before 173.

Recently, S. Maffei has dealt with the question of the emperor's *felicitas*, examining the depictions on the column and the sources,[65] in the course of which he comes to several important insights. She first examined rain miracles in a wider sense compared to other natural wonders of antiquity and concluded that miracles are necessarily connected to the emperor's *felicitas*, which ought to guarantee victory for the Romans at all times. Examining the reliefs, she raised the same question: in scene XI she related Marcus' figure and the persons around him not to the building of the camp, but to the determination and consecration (*fulgur conditum*) of the place where the lightning had struck (*bidental* or *puteal*), where the objects affected by the lightning had to be buried,

[64] Wolff 1990, 11–12, Anm. 16. In the Armenian version, the whole chronology was shifted by one year with Caesar's death, hence the earlier date of 172.

[65] Maffei 1990.

in this case the tower and the corpses. The fact that Marcus and the figures around him work on the bank of the river and not directly next to the camp where the lightning struck speaks against this excellent idea, although the toga worn by the emperor could indeed refer to some cultic action, as in the case of the lustration (scene VI). Maffei's work also has the great merit of interpreting the scenes depicting miracles in a broader context. She observes (in a hardly contestable way) that the depiction of the lightning miracle is surrounded, both below and above, by scenes depicting the emperor and his virtues:

	scene XVII: *deditio*	
scene X:	**the lightning miracle**	scene XI: Marcus' depiction
	scene IV: *adlocutio*	

According to her (and it is also a fact), the same may be observed in the case of the rain miracle:

scene XX: *clementia Augusti*	
scene XVI: **rain miracle**	scene XVII: *deditio* (*clementia*)

Examining a new inscription from Sarmizegetusa (AÉp 1998, 1087), I. Piso proved the participation of the *legio XV Apollinaris* in the Marcomannic war. Furthermore, he rightly stated that therefore the participation of the other Cappadocian legion, the *legio XII fulminata*, cannot be considered as mere Christian fiction.[66] Most recently, J. Scheid dealt with the god figures on the column.[67] According to him, in scene XI the emperor and a soldier receive the *omen* of both miracles with their clearly outstretched right arms. In his opinion, it is not the uncertainty of the official version that is shown by the pictures, but their figures represent the gods of the weather: first, a certain Fulgurator or Fulminator, who is not known from elsewhere, then the rain god. Of course, the question then arises why the ancient sources do not speak of them.

C. Motschmann has provided the latest summary of the rain miracle, trying to reconcile the different opinions.[68] He accepts that the primary source could be the letter of Marcus Aurelius and that the Arnuphis

[66] Piso 1998.
[67] Scheid 2000, 233–236.
[68] Motschmann 2002, 125–144.

version is not likely to have been accepted officially. Motschmann returns to the old interpretation, which in my opinion is completely mistaken, that separate scenes of Marcus' column show one and the same event rather than two distinct miracles. D. S. Potter has studied the role of the magicians/prophets and their relationship with the emperor and the event on the basis of the *Oracula Sibyllina*.[69] In his monograph, S. Perea Yébenes studied the rain miracle separately.[70] In the first part of his work he republishes an essay of J. Ortiz y Sanz on the miracle (originally published in 1817). Perea Yébenes concludes that the lightning miracle happened in 172, the rain miracle in 174. He also studied the development of the Christian version. Finally, Perea Yébenes publishes all the inscriptions that mention the *legio XII fulminata*. According to his observations, Christian soldiers are not attested in the legion.

[69] Potter 1990, 136–37, D. S. Potter, The Roman Empire at Bay: A.D. 180–395. London-New York 2004, 30–32.

[70] Perea Yébenes 2002.

CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES FOR THE RAIN MIRACLE

1. *Tertullian* Apologeticum *V.25*

A.D. 197
Edition: H. Hoppe, CSEL 69 (1939), P. Frassinetti, Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticum. Recensuit Paulus Frassinetti. Augustae Taurinorum 1965.

At nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Qui sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore.

We, however, can on the other side produce a protector, if the letters of the most grave Emperor Marcus Aurelius be searched, in which he testifies that the well-known Germanic drought was dispelled by the shower obtained through the prayers of Christians who happened to be in the army. And although he did not openly abolish the penalty incurred by members of that sect, yet in another way he openly averted it by the addition of a condemnatory sentence on the accusers, and that a more terrible one (translation of T. H. Bindley).[1]

2. Ad Scapulam *4*

Around A.D. 212
Edition: E. Dekkers, CCSL 2, 1954, 1125–1132, V. Bulhart, CSEL 76, 1957, 9–16, A. Quacquarelli, Q. S. F. Tertulliani ad Scapulam. Prolegomeni, testo critico e commento. Opuscula Patrum I. Roma-New York 1957.

[1] The Apology of Tertullian for the Christians. Translated with introduction, analysis, and appendix containing the letters of Pliny and Trajan respecting the Christians by T. H. Bindley. London-Oxford 1890.

Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit. Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsae? Tunc et populus acclamans Deo deorum in Iovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit.

Marcus Aurelius also, in his expedition to Germany, by the prayers his Christian soldiers offered to God, got rain in that well-known thirst. When, indeed, have not droughts been put away by our kneelings and our fastings? At times like these, moreover, the people crying to 'the God of gods, the alone Omnipotent,' under the name of Jupiter, have borne witness to our God (translation of Rev. S. Thelwall).[2]

Literature: Petersen 1894, Harnack 1894, 838–842, 844–858, Domaszewski 1894, 617, Mommsen 1895, 90, 92, 103, Anm. 3, Domaszewski 1895, 128, Petersen 1895, 459, Geffcken 1899, 254, 258, Zwikker 1941, 213, Guey 1948, 120, n. 4, Borzsák 1960, 243–244, Berwig 1970, 110–117, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 43–46, Sage 1987, 112–113, Klein 1989, 122–124, Wolff 1989, 29–30, Maffei 1990, 332–334, Motschmann 2002, 127, 129–130, Perea Yébenes 2002, 42, 93, 129–130.

The earliest Christian versions of the rain miracle that have come down to us are from Tertullian's two works.[3] The first, the *Apologeticum*, is one of Tertullian's first works, written not much later than his conversion (around A.D. 195); it addresses the magistrates of Rome (*antistites*), and is, in fact, a rewritten version of the two books of *Ad nationes.* The other work is the concise *Ad Scapulam*, addressed to the proconsul of the province Africa (A.D. 211–213), a severe persecutor of Christians. On the basis of the mention of the solar eclipse in August, 212, this latter work can be dated to around 212; this is, at the same time, one of the last of Tertullian's works before his break with the Church. Montanist elements can also be seen in it, so the method of praying (i.e., kneeling) and the belief in the effectiveness of Lent may also refer to this here.

In the 5th chapter of the *Apologeticum*, Tertullian expounds the theory that the benevolent emperors of Rome did not persecute Christians (in contrast to Nero and Domitian); moreover, Marcus Aurelius definitely rose to their defence. In Tertullian's view, the rain miracle could have

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[2] The Ante-Nicene fathers. Translations of the writings of the fathers down to A.D. 325 III. Latin Christianity: Its founder, Tertullian. I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical. Buffalo 1896, 105–108.

[3] T. D. Barnes, Tertullian: A historical and literary study. Oxford 1971, 38.

been a possible incentive for him to defend them. In connection, he makes reference to the fact that—in his letter—the emperor mentions that the end of the *sitis Germanica* could be attributed to the prayer of the Christian soldiers. It is an important fact that there is no word on either the lightning miracle or the emperor's personal presence. Nor is there data on the end of the persecution of the Christians, just on the punishment of those who denounced them. A parallel expression of the ablative absolute *impetrato imbri* appears only in the *vita Marci* (24.4): *pluvia impetrata*! Similarly to the previous part, in the fourth chapter of the *Ad Scapulam* the author uses an apologetic objective to list the governors who at least supported the Christians. Moreover, he writes about Septimius Severus for that reason, connected to a mention of Marcus and the rain miracle. The miracle happened owing to the prayer of the Christian soldiers; in this passage, the author uses the verb *impetrare* again. He does not write about a strict connection between the miracle and the effectiveness of Lent and prayer (=kneeling down) in the next sentence; this time it is Jupiter again (*et tunc*) whom the pagan people thank for the result of the prayer. We are not to connect the general mention of kneeling down with the rain miracle directly, which is why we cannot link it to Apollinaris, either.[4] Nothing provides evidence for the link between the two sources; moreover, the differences definitely seem to refute a link, the *legio XII fulminata* and the absence of a mention of the lightning miracle in Tertullian versus Apollinaris' lack of a mention of Marcus' epistle.[5] The question of whether Marcus was a participant in the miracle or not also arises in connection with Tertullian's second passage. The nominative case in *Ad Scapulam* nevertheless suggests this, whereas the passive use in the other passage does not exclude this possibility, although neither does it confirm it. If that is the case, Tertullian probably used another source as well that linked the two miracles.[6]

The question of Marcus' epistle has generated heated argument among scholars. According to some views, an epistle forged by the Christians had to have existed by the time that the author wrote (based on the theory of Domaszewski), whereas other researchers suggested that

[4] Sage 1987, 112–113.
[5] Berwig 1970, 117–118.
[6] It could hardly be his own 'brainchild' since this interpolation is observable in the other pagan and Christian sources as well.

the inventor of this epistle was Tertullian himself (Sage). Most researchers have accepted the existence of the epistle based on the arguments of Harnack and Mommsen (later Geffcken and Zwikker), and for them the only question is what this original epistle really contained. Many of them accepted Mommsen's opinion that Marcus did not name a proper deity and the words *forte Christianorum* are Tertullian's interpolation. Dio LXXI.10. should be given a key role in deciding the question, where he mentions the emperor's epistle addressed to the senate. Inasmuch as this chapter is Xiphilinus' interpolation, as Domaszewski inferred, then the epitomist used Tertullian's and Eusebius' data in this passage. If the original but abridged text of Dio is in question, however, then the existence of the epistle must be unquestionable. Tertullian really did use data of dubious value, such as in *Apol.* 5. where he makes reference to the *Acta Pilati*. However, the memory of the rain miracle could not have faded just two decades after the Marcomannic wars. Tertullian could hardly refer to conspicuously untrustworthy affairs because some of the senators to whom he addressed his work personally participated in the battles. The situation may be similar in *Ad Scapulam* 4, where the author gives information about Severus' quite positive approach to Christians.[7] It is here that I have to call attention to the *pluvia (imbri) impetrata* parallel expressions between the author and the *vita Marci*. Supposing the source of the *vita* was de facto Marius Maximus (or the *Ignotus*), then the parallelism between the two loci may originate from a common source they both used, namely Marcus' epistle addressed to the senate and published in the *Acta*. A reassuring conclusion, of course, cannot be reached solely on the basis of analysing these two sources.

3. *Cassius Dio LXXI.8–10*

Between A.D. 207 and 219
Edition: U. P. Boissevain, Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt I–III. Berlin 1895, 1898,1901 (repr. 1955).

[7] Cf. A. R. Birley, Septimius Severus. The African emperor. London-New York 1999, 154.

8. Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μᾶρκος ὑπέταξεν ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας καὶ νίκη παράδοξος εὐτυχήθη, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐδωρήθη. κινδυνεύσαντας γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραδοξότατα τὸ θεῖον ἐξέσωσε. 2. κυκλωσάντων γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν Κουάδων ἐν τόποις ἐπιτηδείοις συνασπίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν μάχην ἐπέσχον, προσδοκήσαντές σφας ῥᾳδίως ὑπό τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους αἱρήσειν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πέριξ διαλαβόντες ἀπέφραξαν, ὅπως μηδαμόθεν ὕδωρ λάβωσι πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τῷ πλήθει περιῆσαν. 3. τῶν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τοῦ τε ἡλίου καὶ τοῦ δίψους γενομένων, καὶ μήτε μάχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μήτε χωρῆσαί πῃ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἑστηκότων καὶ κατακαιομένων, νέφη πολλὰ ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη 4. καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνοῦφίν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι.

9. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φησίν, ἔοικε δὲ ψεύδεσθαι, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε ἄκων. οἶμαι δὲ τὸ πλέον ἑκώνῥ καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὔ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), 2. ὅπερ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας αἰτίας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις λέγεται) ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τόνδε συμβάντος τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω προσηγορεύθη. ὃ καὶ αἴτιον τότε τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἀρνοῦφις ὁ μάγος οὐδὲ γὰρ μάγων συνουσίαις καὶ γοητείαις ὁ Μάρκος χαίρειν ἱστόρηται. 3. ἔστι δὲ ὃ λέγω τοιοῦτον. τάγμα ἦν τῷ Μάρκῳ (καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λεγεῶνα) τῶν ἀπὸ Μελιτηνῆς στρατιωτῶν εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν πρεσβεύοντες ἅπαντες. ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν ἔπαρχον, ἀμηχανοῦντι πρὸς τὴν περίστασιν καὶ δεδιότι περὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ, 4. εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δύνανται ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ σφίσι τάγμα ὅλον τυγχάνει ὂν τούτου τοῦ γένους. τὸν οὖν Μάρκον ἀκούσαντα παρακλήσει χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν εὔξωνται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ, 5. εὐξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐπακούσαντα τὸν θεὸν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὄμβρῳ παραμυθήσασθαι ἐφ' οἷς καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τούς τε Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν λεγεῶνα κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι. 6. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολήν τινα περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου. ἀλλ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτι μὲν τὸ τάγμα

κεραυνοβόλον λέγεται, ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ μαρτυροῦσι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς προσηγορίας ἥκιστα λέγουσι.

10. προστίθησι δὲ ὁ Δίων ὅτι τοῦ ὄμβρου καταρραγέντος πρῶτον μὲν ἄνω πάντες ἀνέκυπτον καὶ ἐς τὰ στόματα αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράνη ὑποβάλλοντες αὐτοί τε χανδὸν ἔσπων καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνειν ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων ἔπινόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐμάχοντο, 2. καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες τιτρωσκόμενοι τό τε αἷμα περιχεόμενον ἐς τὰ κράνη καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα ἀνερρόφουν. κἂν ἔπαθόν τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς, περὶ τὸ πίνειν οἱ πλείους ἠσχολημένοι, εἰ μὴ χάλαζα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον.

3. ἦν οὖν ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τε ἅμα καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγραίνοντό τε καὶ ἔπινον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυροῦντο καὶ ἔθνησκον. καὶ οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πῦρ ἥπτετο, ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ προσέμιξέ σφισιν, εὐθὺς ἐσβέννυτο οὔτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ ὑετὸς ὠφέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τὴν φλόγα αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἤγειρεν, ὕδωρ τε ὑόμενοι ἐζήτουν. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον ὡς καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὸ πῦρ κατασβέσοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσέτρεχον ὡς καὶ μόνους σωτήριον ὕδωρ ἔχοντας ἠλέησε γοῦν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος. παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἕβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. 5. καίπερ δὲ οὐκ εἰωθώς, πρὶν τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι, τοιοῦτόν τι προσίεσθαι, ὅμως ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν.

μέντοι Φαυστῖνα μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπεκλήθη. Xiph.

8. So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the course of the battle, the divine power saved them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing and the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many

clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain.

9. This is what Dio says about the matter, but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "'Thundering' Legion"—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others—a title which was given it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that occurred in this very war. It was precisely this incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the 'Thundering' Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

10. Dio goes on to say that when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along

with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted imperator by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate. Moreover Faustina was given the title of "Mother of the Camp" (translation of E. Cary).[8]

It was Cassius Dio who provided the most detailed pagan version of the rain miracle, but it is, unfortunately, known only from Xiphilinus' excerpt (260, 6–262, 5). Chapters 8 and 10 of this text are the author's excerpts, whereas Xiphilinus added chapter 9, in which he recorded the Christian version of the miracle based on Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Cassius Dio's story goes as follows: after defeating the Marcomanni and the Sarmatians, Marcus launched a war against the Quadi. During the course of war they were involved in danger but escaped due to divine aid. (8.1). The Quadi, with numerical superiority, surrounded the Roman troops, which were in a difficult situation due to a water shortage and great heat (8.2). The Roman army was saved by the rain that—according to another tradition—the Egyptian magus, Arnuphis, called down by conjuring up Hermes Aerios and other gods (8.3–4). Xiphilinus interrupted the presentation of events here to refute this latter tradition for the sake of the Christian version:

(1) Dio knew and even mentioned the title *fulminata of the legio XII* somewhere else (LV.23.5).

[8] Dio's Roman history IX. With an English translation by Earnest Cary. London-Cambridge/Mass. 1927, 26–33.

(2) He knew the original story of the miracle.
(3) He was also aware of the fact that Marcus did not have a high opinion of magi (cf. Med. I.6).[9]

After all this, the epitomist presented Eusebius' Christian version of the rain miracle (without doubt it came from the *Ecclesiastical History*), and from the work of Georgius Monachus (see below) based on the mention of Tertullian's epistle). Then Xiphilinus continued presenting the events described by Dio (10): προστίθησι δ' ὁ Δίων. The Roman soldiers and their animals obtained water (10.1), but at the same time they had to fight, while hail and lightning were striking the enemy (10.2). This lightning hit only the enemy, not the Romans (10.3), which is why they fled to the Romans (i.e., they surrendered); even Marcus felt pity for them (which means that he was present there or at least not too far away) (10.4). His troops acclaimed Marcus as imperator for the seventh time; he accepted this title before the agreement of the senate, and informed them of the event later in an epistle; Faustina received the title *mater castrorum* (10.5).

In Domaszewski's and other researchers' opinions, the 10th chapter is not a continuation of Dio's work, but a forged version of Xiphilinus, in which he confused the earlier lightning miracle with the rain miracle, and gave wrong dates to the events. The basis for this is provided as follows:

(1) The description of the column does not correspond to Dio's description.
(2) He mentions only the rain miracle in the 8th caput; Eusebius' confused version of the miracles (rain and lighting miracles together) appears only in the 10th caput.
(3) In his opinion, the unusual manner of the acclamation and Faustina's title *mater castrorum* (she received it only after her death) both come from a forgery.

His supposition, however, cannot be confirmed owing to several arguments:

(1) This version appears earlier, in the entry on Arnuphis in the *Suda* (A 3987). However, it is sure that the *Suda* was written in the second half of the 10th century, much earlier than Xiphilinus' age. There is

[9] Rutherford 1989, 181–186.

no evidence whether Xiphilinus used an earlier epitome (one before the *Suda*) that the compiler of the *Suda* had followed.[10]

(2) Petersen's preliminary study (Petersen 1895) demonstrates quite decidedly that Dio followed scene XVI of the column—though only partly.[11] Marcus himself was probably staying in the tent from where the troops are departing; this is the only way to interpret Marcus' pity written in 10.4 and the expression συνὼν τῷ Μάρκῳ (8.4)[12] addressed to Arnuphis. Scene XVII of the column that represents the act of dedition corresponds to the description of the surrendering soldiers. Similarly, Dio's description (10.1) corresponds to the soldiers represented, who are praying, drinking, and watering their horses in scene XVI (soldiers no. 9, 20 and 10). The starting point of Domaszewski's critique was that a scene can represent only one simultaneous event, the troop is marching in *agmen quadratum*, i.e., the picture of Dio's state of siege does not correspond to the scene represented. As F. Pirson has recently demonstrated during his examinations of certain battle scenes, however, in specific scenes several subsequent events can be compressed into one scene.[13]

The same phenomenon appears in scene XVI:

(a) Departure of the troop in *agmen quadratum* from Marcus' tent.
(b) Drought, dead cattle, prayer.
(c) A burst of rain, drinking soldiers, soldiers watering their animals.
(d) Worsening of the storm, even the Roman soldiers are protecting themselves with shields, destruction of the enemy.
(e) scene XVII, *deditio*.

On these grounds we can claim that with some, but natural, differences Dio's scene is reminiscent of the one on the column. The only significant difference is the absence of the lightning, which does not mean by any means that the 10th caput was forged in the 11th century; moreover, the data above even contradict this theory.

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[10] Millar 1964, 2, n. 4.
[11] Petersen 1895, 462–464, Marcus-Säule, 58–59.
[12] Cf. Guey 1949, 95, n. 3.
[13] Pirson 1996.

(3) As Mommsen has already demonstrated, the manner of the acclamation is not necessarily incorrect nor is Faustina's honorific title.[14] The approval of the senate was not necessary for the acclamation to become official.[15] Faustina may have been given the title *mater castrorum* (cf. HA v. Marci 26.7) de facto after her death in 175, but this fact does not exclude the originality of the text; furthermore, some researchers have recently put forward arguments for the year 174 (year 172) as the correct date.[16] One of the most probable possibilities to explain these latter apparent contradictions is the fact that Xiphilinus—in accordance with the method epitomists used—omitted significant sequences from the original opus,[17] such as probably in the case of chapter 10. Thus, we can infer with good reason that the event and the imperial acclamation did not necessarily happen at the same time; Xiphilinus returned to describe the events here because he made a reference to the rain miracle while justifying the acclamation: καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων.[18] The same reason may explain Faustina's honorific title, to which the insertion μέντοι (probably Xiphilinus') may refer directly.[19] From Dio's long text, Faustina's posthumous title was the only noteworthy item; he obviously drew a parallel between that and Marcus' imperial acclamation.

(4) While deciding this question, one should analyse first of all whether the style of chapter 10 differs from Dio's style. The answer, in all probability, is 'no'. It is not by chance that Mommsen, Petersen, and Geffken, and even Guey, already spoke for the authenticity of the chapter on the basis of style among other reasons.[20] The rhetorical picture described in chapter 10 is the "writing up of a historical theme with free fantasy"—in J. Geffcken's words, which was not strange for

[14] Mommsen 1895.
[15] Mommsen 1895, 95.
[16] P. Herz, Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit. ANRW II 16/2 (1978) 1175, D. Knibbe, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus, Kaiser Marcus, Faustina, Commodus und der 11. Juni 172 n. Chr. ÖJh 54, 1983, 138–140, Birley 1987, 178, 254, Kienast 1996, 141. The inscription quoted by D. Knibbe does not mention Faustina, see: Piso 2003, Nr. 28.
[17] Cf. in case of book LIV: Millar 1964, 2, 195–203, Appendix I.
[18] Guey 1949, 97–99.
[19] Wolff 1990, 26, Anm. 31.
[20] Mommsen 195, 100, Petersen 1895, 460, Geffcken 1899, 258, Anm. 3, 263, Berwig 1970, 120, Anm. 1.

Dio or his age.[21] The picture of the fighting and drinking soldiers, the picture of the fire destroying the enemy and the picture of the hail that even helps the fire seem to have originated from a sample speech of a rhetorical school in which—contrary to Weizsäcker's opinion—there is no Christian element, just the use of antonym-pairs used in a rhetorical picture, such as the bloody fire-water, Roman-enemy.[22] Finally, suffice it to quote the opinion of Dio's critical editor, U. P. Boissevain: *hoc solum addo colorem Dioneum in hoc capite tam manifestum esse ut si unquam hic certe in usu venit notum illud* τὸ πράγμα φανερὸν ἔστι αὐτὸ γᾶρ βοᾷ.[23]

(5) Domaszewski has already raised the possibility that the Christian interpolator confused the number of imperial acclamations, i.e., instead of VII, only the VIth in 171 was indicated in Dio's original work, i.e., he read ζ instead of ς by mistake.[24] This theory would stand up, however, only if one accepted the supposition that the epitomist took the whole story of the rain miracle out of the original context. If it did not happen in this way, then it inevitably follows from the text 10.1 that Xiphilinus dated the event to after the defeat of the Marcomanni and Sarmatians on the basis of Dio. Thus, it is impossible that he confused the number of imperial acclamations. The basic situation is different if the interpolator put together specific text segments and really did confuse the two events. One could assume a deliberate alteration inasmuch as Xiphilinus knew the data of Chronicon 173 and wanted to correct Dio's description on purpose. In another case, one could infer that Cassius Dio made a mistake. One cannot exclude this possibility, but it does not mean that all of chapter 10 is a forgery (at most, 8.1 would be the epitomist's rewording).[25]

(6) One can ask whether there are other explanations for the fact that Dio wrote about both the lightning and rain miracles similarly to the *Ecclesiastical History*. The conclusion that only chapter 10 can stem from Dio is not inevitable, but, as has already been argued, it could also have happened vice versa, i.e., Eusebius could also have used chapter

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[21] Millar 1964, 40–46.
[22] Weizsäcker 1894.
[23] U. P. Boissevain, Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt III. Berlin 1901 (repr. 1955), 260.
[24] Domaszewski 1895, 123, Anm. 1, 125.
[25] Cf. Marcus-Säule, 107, Anm. 11.

10 written by Dio. Furthermore, one cannot exclude the possibility that the thunder was accompanied by lightning despite the fact that the lightning does not appear in the scenes on the columns. Of course, it again raises the question of why lightning is absent. Mommsen explained this by saying that the artist simplified the dual miracle and emphasised the representation of the dead barbarian soldiers to express the contrast.[26] There are three possible explanations for the confusion of the two miracles:

(a) This really happened; the scene on the column is not accurate.
(b) According to his rhetorical method, Dio himself merged the two miracles for greater dramatic effect.
(c) The story already appeared this way in Dio's source. One could infer the confusion of the two miracles as early as Tertullian, who emphasized Marcus' personal presence.

Dio gives one version of the pagan varieties of the event, in which the invoker of the rain miracle was Arnuphis, the Egyptian magus, who won Hermes Aerios' support. It is Dio's version that usually provides a basis for proving the link between the coins with the figure of Mercury and the miracle. For that, however, one should first demonstrate that Dio's version was the official one, which seems doubtful to me. I must also emphasize that the historian wrote Arnuphis' story on the basis of another source. It is far from evident that:

(1) It was authentic, in his opinion.
(2) It was the official version he knew.
(3) The magus asked other deities for help.

The date of the miracle in Dio is a question evoking further argument (a common view is that it happened in A.D. 174), which is closely connected with the dates of the scenes on the column. First of all, it seems necessary to highlight the fact that it was not the miracle that Cassius Dio dated to 174; he linked the victory over the Quadi resulting from the miracle to Marcus' VIIth imperial acclamation. The acclamation itself—known primarily from money circulation—occurred at

[26] Mommsen 1895, 100.

the beginning of the summer of 174.[27] The place of this latter event in the epitome more or less corresponds to the chronological order so Dio could not have been mistaken in this respect. According to Domaszewski's starting point, the date 174 must be wrong since the rain miracle is one of the first scenes on the column. In Mommsen's and Wolff's opinions, however, it is not the column which determined Dio's dating, but vice versa, that is, the first scenes on the column show the events of the year 174 (in Morrison's opinion, the year 173). Others (Stuart Jones, Strong, Roos) have tried to solve this apory by stating that the scenes on the column are not in chronological order. To answer the question one can examine—based on Guey and Wolff—the context where the rain miracle appears in Xiphilinus' epitome (only in his work, because we cannot do that in Dio's).[28] Dio, and later Xiphilinus, truly followed the annalist tradition.[29] More or less similarly to the method of *Historia Augusta*, with fewer or more digressions, Xiphilinus wrote about the Marcomannic war in the following order:[30]

Marcomannic war (A.D. 169–175)	*Excursus*
259, 9. Death of Verus, A.D. 169 259, 10–13. Summary of the Marcomannic wars, A.D. 169 259, 13–26. attack Italy, Counteroffensive, Pertinax's victory, reoccupation of the right bank of the Danube, VIth imperial acclamation, A.D. 170–171. 259, 26–31. Bellum Marcomannicum, Title of Germanicus, A.D. 172	
	259, 30–250, 32. Bucoli, war stories, Marcus' legal activities, his health, around A.D. 172
2. Against the Sarmatians, A.D. 174–175 251, 22–24–260, 6–10. Summary of the war, victory over the Marcomanni, Sarmatians, new war against the Quadi	

[27] Kienast 1996, 139.
[28] Guey 1949. 91–107, Wolff 1990, 11–14.
[29] Millar 1964, 39–40.
[30] Cf. Guey 1949, 101, n. 9.

260, 10–262, 5. The rain miracle, A.D. 174
262, 5–9. Pertinax' consulship, A.D. 175
262, 9–264, 25. Avidius Cassius' revolt,
Marcus' *adlocutio* A.D. 175
264, 25–27. New victory over the barbarians and the death of Avidius Cassius are reported July, 175

From all this, J. Guey's statement does not follow, but just the opposite! Xiphilinus dealt with the event out of chronological order, i.e., Dio's work is not decisive from the point of view of the dating. In 251, 22–24–260, and 6–10, the epitomist provided a summary of the earlier wars against the Marcomanni and the Sarmatians; after that he announced the beginning of a new war against the Quadi, during which the rain miracle happened. After the VIIth imperial acclamation he finished writing about the war, which the emperor was forced to suspend owing to the revolt of Avidius Cassius; new victories over the barbarians were reported together with the death of the rebel (cf. 264, 25–27). The starting point of the debate on the dating should necessarily be that Xiphilinus concluded, based on Cassius Dio's work, that the miracle happened in A.D. 174. It is only a secondary circumstance in this case that the campaign against the Sarmatians ended only in 175 (Marcus Aurelius received the title Sarmaticus title in July/August, 175).[31] Xiphilinus' historical authenticity can be judged by determining whether there were battles against the Quadi (and against the Cotini) in 174 or not based on the authentic data in Marcus' forged epistle that probably originated from Dio.[32] This possibility is worth taking into consideration on the grounds of Dio's excerpta that were omitted by Xiphilinus.[33] The possibility that the war was going on not only against the Sarmatians but also against the Quadi, who broke the peace again, is not only a generally accepted common view, but a question of fact (cf. Dio LXXI.13.1–14.2 = Exc. U^{G} 59 [p. 409]). The relation to the Cotini is rather interesting; from Dio LXXI.12.3 = Exc. U^{G} 58 (p. 408) it is known that the Cotini, who were theoretically allies in the battles against the Marcomanni, set themselves against Tarruttienus Paternus, the commander of the Roman troops stationed there around

[31] Kienast 1996, 139.

[32] An important statement in Marcus' epistle is that the war was going on against the Quadi and the Sarmatians at that time.

[33] The best summary of the chronology of year 174 is still: Zwikker 1941, 131–136, 142–145, 197–206, 235–236, Birley 1987, 177–179.

172–173,[34] because of which they were severely punished: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο. Based on these data, the most probable date of that is A.D. 173 or 174. There is also no doubt that Dio referred to heat twice (8.2, 8.3) and hail accompanied by lighting and thunder, so the events above had to take place around summer (between late spring and early autumn). However, one cannot exclude the possibility (on which even Guey built, see above) that the dates of the miracle and the acclamation may not coincide at all. There is a reasonable chance of that, although the miracle was followed by the dedition (see scene XVII of the column), which did not at all mean the end of the campaign or a decisive victory. A further possibility might be that the acclamation took place at the beginning of the summer, i.e., the event must also necessarily be dated to the summer of 173; nevertheless, a date in the late spring of 174 cannot be excluded. However, Dio's work is not a decisive source for determining the date of the miracle, as noted above; examining the scenes on Marcus' column can yield more certain information.

Cf. Dio's Roman History I–IX. Translated by E. Cary. London-Cambridge/Mass. 1914–1927, GLQFM III, 602–624, Šašel Kos 1986, 18–49, 202–217, PWRE III (1899) 1684–1722, Millar 1964, M. G. Schmidt, Die 'zeitgeschichtlichen' Bücher im Werk des Cassius Dio—von Commodus zu Severus Alexander ANRW II.34.3 (1997) 2591–2649.

Literature: Petersen 1894, Harnack 1894, 838–839, 844–858, Domaszewski 1895, Mommsen 1895, Petersen 1895, Geffcken 1899, 263–264, Dobiáš 1932, 143–149, Zwikker 1941, 207–210, Roos 1943, Guey 1948, Guey 1948a, Guey 1949, Posener 1951, Millar 1964, 179, Berwig 1970, 119–131, Rubin 1979, Tóth 1976, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 46–48, Fowden 1987, 87–89, Wolff 1989, 40–41, Anm. 10, 12, 14, Wolff 1990, 11–17, Maffei 1990, 334–335, Motschmann 2002, 128–129, 135–138, Perea Yébenes 2002, 42–45, 114–125, 153–155.

4. *Oracula Sibyllina XII.194–200*

Between A.D. 235–268
Edition: J. Geffcken. Die Oracula Sibyllina. GCS 8. Leipzig 1902.

[34] Zwikker 1941, 194–195.

XII.194–200. καί ποτε Ῥωμαίοισιν ἀνασταχυώσεται ἕλκος
δεινότατον πολέμοις χώρην δέ μιν ἐξαλαπάξει
πᾶσαν Γερμανῶν, ὁπόταν μέγα σῆμα θεοῖο
οὐρανόθεν προφανῇ καί τ' ἄνδρας χαλκοκορυστάς
τρυχομένους σώσειε δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος
αὐτῷ γὰρ θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει
εὐξαμένῳ βρέξει παρακαίριον ὄμβριον ὕδωρ.

One day also a most terrible wound will spring up
for the Romans in wars. He will utterly destroy
the entire land of the Germans whenever the great sign of God
appears from heaven, and saves bronze-helmeted men
who are being worn out on account of the piety of the king.
For the heavenly God will indeed hearken to him in everything.
At his prayer he will shower rainwater out of season (translation of J. J. Collins).[35]

Some data (books XII–XIII) of the collection known as *Oracula Sibyllina* constitute a specific but so far less-well-known group of ancient sources on the history of Pannonia. The corpus of oracles of the 10 Sibyllae (ignoring the Jewish, Egyptian and Asian ones, cf. Lactantius Div. Inst. I 6, 8–12) is a rather complex work that can be traced back to Varro's canon. The different books (even their specific parts) were written at different points in time from the middle of the second century B.C. up to the end of the fifth century by authors belonging to various religions.

Although specific parts can be attributed to pagan authors, hellenized Jewish and Christian authors wrote most of the texts. The collection underwent redactions at least twice, first at the end of the fifth century when a preface was written for books I–VIII after Emperor Zeno's death (A.D. 491: F and Y manuscript groups), then the final version was completed in Egypt after the Arabic conquest (A.D. 646: W manuscript groups). The latter group contains books XI–XIV, chronologically the youngest (books IX–X were compiled from earlier ones). As can be seen, 11 books of the corpus, consisting of approximately 4230 Greek hexameters, were written mainly by Jewish and Christian authors from Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The aim of their work was relatively

[35] Old Testament Pseudepigrapha I. Ed. J. H. Charlesworth. New York-London-Toronto-Sydney-Auckland 1983, 450.

simple; as with other famous oracula of antiquity, the authors published their own historical prophecies as Sibylla for the sake of greater prestige and in order to protect their beliefs. The oracles covered the time from the creation of the world (mankind) to their own age (*vaticinatio ex eventu*). Books I–VIII also contain eschatological prophecies about the Last Judgement. With the help of these prophecies, the authors apparently endeavoured to convert their pagan contemporaries and protect the trustworthiness of their own religion with the help of previous prophecies. Compared to the earlier books, the authors of books XI–XIII dealt only with historical prophecies; among these, book XI gives a short summary of world history from the Flood to the occupation of Egypt by the Romans (30 B.C.). Book XII deals with Roman history, or more specifically, with several emperors' lives until Severus Alexander's death; book XIII relates events from 235 until the reign of Gallienus (260–268). Book XIV probably covers the events until the fall of Alexandria (646), but some prophecies are so obscure and have such mixed data that it is almost impossible to discover the meaning. The identification of some emperors is barely possible. These passages of the corpus are based on earlier works and word-for-word copies from the earlier books are quite frequent. The historical data of the corpus quite often mingle with fiction in a peculiar way, which is why one always has to handle these data with great circumspection.

As one can see, Book XII is the continuation of the previous book covering the events of the Roman imperial period and stories of several emperors until A.D. 235. Although Christian interpolations (lines 30–34, 232) appear in this book, it is on the whole the work of a Jew from Alexandria after 235 who was loyal to Rome. The author gives a positive picture of the emperors remembered as positive figures, like Augustus, Domitian, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius; in contrast, the pictures of Caligula, Nero (the returning Nero appears as the predecessor of the Anti-Christ), Nerva, and Commodus are quite negative. His loyalty to the empire is shown by the fact that Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, whom the Jews considered negative figures, appear as positive and their anti-Jewish actions are just mentioned in passing; in the case of Hadrian even the suppression of the Bar-Kochba uprising is ignored. Despite its frequently inaccurate data, it still serves as an excellent source to get to know—J. Geffcken's research revealed—what opinion an Egyptian, an Oriental person, held of the Romans and the emperor, what pieces of information they had in the remote provinces of the empire, and what events happened there. These latter events were mixed willy-nilly with each other and with made-up stories. The Pannonian data can serve

as an excellent example of this (XII,68–77 on Claudius, 133–134 on Domitian, XIII,137–138 on Trebonianus Gallus). This passage above deals with the event of the rain miracle under Marcus Aurelius. He is the most positive figure in the book (lines 187–205). The text gives a picture of a wise emperor who had to fight against the Germans and totally destroyed their land. A similar opinion can be found in pagan ancient sources. The oraculum contains the earliest (composed shortly after 235) pagan version of the rain miracle that occurred in the presence of the emperor because of a prayer (earlier Tertullian Ad Scap. 4). There is no mention of lightning in this text. The passage is important because—besides Cassius Dio—it summarizes the earliest pagan version. This version of the legend emerged only in late antiquity: HA v. Marci 24.4, Claudianus, VI. cons. Hon. 339–350.

Cf. Geffcken 1901, 183–195, J. Geffcken, Komposition und Enstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina. Leipzig 1902, PWRE IIA (1920) 2073–2183, W. Scott, The last Sibylline oracle of Alexandria (Oracula Sibyllina XIV, 284–361) CQ 9, 1915, 144–166, 207–228, 10, 1916, 7–16, A. Kurfeß, Sibyllinsche Weissagungen. Berlin 1951, E. Kocsis, Der Ost-West Gegensatz in den jüdischen Sibyllinen. NT 5, 1962, 105–110, Collins 1974, J. J. Collins, The developnent of Sibylline tradition. In: ANRW II/20. Berlin-New York 1987, 421–459, V. Nikiprowetzky, La Sibylle juive et la "Troisime Livre" des 'Pseudo-Oracles Sibyllins' depuis Charles Alexandre. In: ANRW II/20. Berlin-New York 1987, 460–542, J. J. Collins: Sibylline oracles. In: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), The Old Testament Pseudoepigrapha I. Apocalyptic literature and testaments. Cambridge 1983, 317–468, Sibyllinische Weissagungen: Griechisch/ Deutsch = Oracula Sibyllina. Auf der Grundlage der Ausgabe von Alfons Kurfeß neu übersetzt und herausgegeben von Jörg-Dieter Gauger. Düsseldorf 1998, Potter 1990, H. Merkel, Sibyllinen. Gütersloh 1998, Székely 1907, Harnack 1894, 862, Geffcken 1899, 262–263, Geffcken 1901, 190–192, Dobiáš 1932, 159, n. 74, Zwikker 1941, 214, Zwikker 1941, 214, Borzsák 1960, 244, Berwig 1970, 141–144, Fowden 1987, 86, Klein 1989, 128, FPA 2, 60–62.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 862, Geffcken 1899, 262–263, Geffcken 1901, 190–192, Dobiáš 1932, 159, n. 74, Zwikker 1941, 214, Zwikker 1941, 214, Borzsák 1960, 244, Berwig 1970, 141–144, Fowden 1987, 86, Klein 1989, 128, Potter 1990, 136–137, Perea Yébenes 2002, 125–126, 156, Kovács P., Az Oracula Sibyllina és Pannonia. Specimina Nova 18, 2004, 159–166.

5. *Eusebius'* Chronicon *222.1 (Karst) = Hier. Chron. 206i*

Around A.D. 303
Edition: J. Karst, Eusebius' Werke 5: Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen übersetzt mit textkritischem Kommentar. GCS 20 (1911).

Karst 222.1. Antonios der Selbstherrscher wurde häufig zum Krige gereizt, pflegte eigen selbst auszuzeichen und auch die Feldherren zu entsenden. Als einst Pertinax und die mit ihm waren, bei den Quaden vor Durst bedrängt waren, da kam wegen des Gebets der christlichen Soldaten ein Regen von Gott, während auf die Feinde, die Germanen und Sarmaten, Blitze niederfuhren und viele von ihnen zerschmetterten. Es wird erzählt, dass auch Briefe vorhanden sind von König Markos, in denen bezeugt, dass sein Heer im Begriff war zu Grunde zu gehen und durch die Gebete der Christen gerettet wurde (translation of J. Karst).

Though the original Greek version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* has not come down to us, we know the Armenian and Jerome's Latin translations. Later, the *Chronicon Paschale* also followed Eusebius' original text, this time in Greek. According to this version of the miracle, Pertinax, not Marcus Aurelius was the commander of the Roman troops fighting on Quadi territory; the Roman army was saved by divine intervention, rain fell on them, whereas lightning destroyed the enemy. Eusebius referred again to Tertullian, Jerome recorded this latter text word by word in his translation. There are three problems when examining this latter version:

(1) To what year did the *Chronicon* date the miracle?
(2) Beside Tertullian, what other sources did the author use?
(3) Who was the commander of the Roman troops?

The first question has caused great difficulty until recently, since the translations of the *Chronicon* give seemingly different dates: Jerome: 173, the Armenian translation: 172, the *Chronicon Paschale* 171. The difference, however, can be explained adequately, as H. Wolff has demonstrated.[36] Jerome dated the miracle to the 238th Olympiad (autumn of 173—autumn of 176) without naming a specific year, but within this

[36] The best summaries of the earliest dates are: Zwikker 1941, 210–211, Roos 1943, 24–26, Guey 1949, 94, n. 5, Wolff 1990, 11–12.

he mentions it at the XIIIth year of the reign of Marcus, so dating it to 173 seems justified.[37] This date, however, does not correspond with the summer heat of Dio's version. Both the Armenian and the Syriac translations of the *Chronicon* (by Pseudo-Dionysius) date the event to the year 2188 after Abraham's birth, the 12th year of the Marcus' reign (A.D. 172), but at the same time the first year of the 238th Olympiad. The shift here could have been created because according to the latter sources the first Olympic Games took place 1240 years after Abraham, thus a one-year-shift was created, i.e., the first year of the reign of Marcus is 2177 after Abraham = A.D. 162, and thus he died in the 19th year of his reign, in 2195 after Abraham.[38] This latter lapse cannot be linked to the Armenian redaction because of the Syriac translation; this date could have appeared this way in Eusebius' work. Jerome could have noticed the mistake and corrected it. The date 171 in the *Chronicon Paschale* can be explained easily; due to an incorrect redaction, several dates—together with the death of Marcus—were set two years earlier. That may be the reason why Eusebius' *Chronicon* and the sources based on it consistently date the rain miracle to A.D. 173.

There are two possible answers to the second question. (1) Since there is no Christian element in the first part of the text, Eusebius based his work on a pagan author.[39] (2) According to some authors (Domaszewski and, principally, Sage) Eusebius' source used the work of the first Christian chronographer, Sex. Iulius Africanus, whom he also undoubtedly used in other places (113A Helm, 193 Karst).[40] Africanus (best known as the compiler of the genealogy of Jesus) published his work (*Chronographia*) around 221; he followed events until A.D. 217, the end of the 249th Olympiad.[41] Deciding whether Eusebius borrowed from Africanus is not possible, if Eusebius did borrow from Africanus one should highlight Eusebius' editorial role; since the description of the miracle

[37] The false information that Hieronymus did not give a more accurate date than the 238th *Olympiad* has been present in the research since Roos (see the previous footnote). In the *Chronicon* (ed. Helm), the following two data appear: (206i): CCXXXVIII. Olymp. XIII (sc. the year of reign). This latter can be found in every codex variant except for codex L.

[38] Wolff 1990, 11, Anm. 16.

[39] Zwikker 1941, 212.

[40] Domaszewski 1894, 616, Anm. 2, Sage 1987, 105–108.

[41] H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie. Leipzig 1880, PWRE XIX (1917) 1201, J. R. Vieilleford, Jules Africain. Fragments des Cestes. Paris 1932.

corresponds with that in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the mention of the lightning motif can be linked to it by the last clause.

The last issue is probably the most difficult; according to Eusebius' source, Pertinax, later emperor, was the commander of the troops. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that Marcus is personally present on the column only at the lightning miracle; the commander of the troops is not Marcus, but a non-identifiable general (fig. 8) in scene XVI with the rain miracle. Based on the data of the Marcus' forged epistle, the *legio I adiutrix* was also present at the rain miracle; whose legatus between 171 and 175 was Pertinax.[42] From the evidence of these three pieces of data, too many researchers since Domaszewski have concluded that Pertinax was the commander of the Roman troops during the rain miracle. Consequently, Pertinax's *cursus honorum* has served as a basis for setting the date of the rain miracle at 172. The case is not as simple as it seems, since the representation on the column is not similar to any representations of Pertinax. No other source mentions that the rain miracle can be linked to the figure of Pertinax. It is absent from Cassius Dio's work, from Pertinax's biography in the *Historia Augusta*, even from Herodian, although all three authors valued his activities as emperor positively and referred to his merits as a general several times (cf. Dio LXXI.3.2 and 8–10, HA vita Pert. II, Her. II.1.4). In the first two cases, one might assume another tendentious editorial method (in the first case, Xiphilinus could have left it out due to the Christian line; in the second case, the editor of the HA could have left it out due to Marcus), but not in the third case with Herodian. In M. M. Sage's opinion, Africanus, who was writing during the reign of Severus Alexander, chose the figure of Pertinax, known for his victories, only because of his good memory; the Severan dynasty considered him one of their ancestors.[43] The only certain statement is that it was not Marcus who commanded the troops, but the dedition of scene XVI took place before Marcus. That is why Petersen could be right when stating that the tent represented at the beginning of scene XVI also belonged to Marcus in scene XV, which shows the marching army, i.e., he could have been nearby.[44] Dio's passage seems to confirm this; in his opinion, Marcus felt pity for the enemy (LXXI.10.4). The

[42] Fitz 1993, 613–614, Nr. 346.
[43] Sage 1987, 108.
[44] Petersen 1895, 462, Marcus-Säule, 58.

commander of the troop might well have been Pertinax, but no other source confirms this theory beside Eusebius.

6. *Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastica V.5.1–7*

Around A.D. 312
Edition: E. Schwartz, Eusebius' Werke 2 (GCS 9.1, 1903; 9.2, 1908, 9.3, 1909), Ed. G. Bardy, Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique I–III. Sources chrétiennes 31, 41, 55. Paris 1952–1958 (repr. 1967).

5.1 τούτου δὴ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα λόγος ἔχει Γερμανοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπαραταττόμενον μάχῃ, δίψει πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἱκεσίας τραπέσθαι, 2. παραδόξου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ τοιούτου δὴ θεάματος φανέντος, ἄλλο τι λόγος ἔχει παραδοξότερον ἐπικαταλαβεῖν αὐτίκα, σκηπτὸν μὲν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἀπώλειαν συνελαύνοντα τοὺς πολεμίους, ὄμβρον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τὸ θεῖον παρακεκληκότων στρατιάν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ δίψους μέλλουσαν ὅσον οὔπω διαφθείρεσθαι ἀνακτώμενον. 3. ἡ δ' ἱστορία φέρεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πόρρω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῦσιν οἷς μέλον γέγονεν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους γραφῆς, δεδήλωται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱστορικοῖς, ἅτε τῆς πίστεως ἀνοικείοις, τέθειται μὲν τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς τοὖθ' ὡμολογήθη γεγονέναι· τοῖς δέ γε ἡμετέροις, ἅτε ἀληθείας φίλοις, ἁπλῷ καὶ ἀκακοήθει τρόπῳ τὸ πραχθὲν παραδέδοται. 4. τούτων δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, ἐξ ἐκείνου φήσας τὴν δι' εὐχῆς τὸ παράδοξον πεποιηκυῖαν λεγεῶνα οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικληθεῖσαν φωνῇ. 5. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανός, τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν τῇ συγκλήτῳ προσφωνήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἧς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, τήν τε ἱστορίαν βεβαιῶν σὺν ἀποδείξει μείζονι καὶ ἐναργεστέρᾳ· 6. γράφει δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτός, λέγων Μάρκου τοῦ συνετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεσθαι ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ μέλλοντα αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς σεσῶσθαι, τοῦτον δέ φησιν καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς κατηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· οἷς ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ καὶ ταῦτα προσεπιλέγει· «ποταποὶ οὖν οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι, οἳ καθ' ἡμῶν μόνων ἕπονται

ἀσεβεῖς, ἄδικοι, ὠμοί; οὓς οὔτε Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐφύλαξεν, καίτοι γε Ἰουδαίους νικήσας, οὓς Τραιανὸς ἐκ μέρους ἐξουθένησεν, κωλύων ἐκζητεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς, οὓς οὔτε Ἁδριανός, καίτοι γε πάντα τὰ περίεργα πολυπραγμονῶν, οὔτε ὁ Εὐσεβὴς ἐπικληθεὶς ἐπεκύρωσεν».

ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τις ἐθέλοι, τιθέσθω·

1. It is reported that Marcus Aurelius Cæsar, brother of Antoninus, being about to engage in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, was in great trouble on account of his army suffering from thirst. But the soldiers of the so-called Melitene legion, through the faith which has given strength from that time to the present, when they were drawn up before the enemy, kneeled on the ground, as is our custom in prayer, and engaged in supplications to God. 2. This was indeed a strange sight to the enemy, but it is reported that a stranger thing immediately followed. The lightning drove the enemy to flight and destruction, but a shower refreshed the army of those who had called on God, all of whom had been on the point of perishing with thirst. 3. This story is related by non-Christian writers who have been pleased to treat the times referred to, and it has also been recorded by our own people. By those historians who were strangers to the faith, the marvel is mentioned, but it is not acknowledged as an answer to our prayers. But by our own people, as friends of the truth, the occurrence is related in a simple and artless manner. 4. Among these is Apollinarius, who says that from that time the legion through whose prayers the wonder took place received from the emperor a title appropriate to the event, being called in the language of the Romans the Thundering Legion. 5. Tertullian is a trustworthy witness of these things. In the Apology for the Faith, which he addressed to the Roman Senate, and which work we have already mentioned, he confirms the history with greater and stronger proofs. 6. He writes that there are still extant letters of the most intelligent Emperor Marcus in which he testifies that his army, being on the point of perishing with thirst in Germany, was saved by the prayers of the Christians. And he says also that this emperor threatened death to those who brought accusation against us. He adds further: What kind of *laws* are those which impious, *unjust*, and cruel *persons* use against us alone? which *Vespasian*, though he had conquered the Jews, did not regard; which *Trajan* partially annulled, forbidding *Christians* to be sought after; which neither Adrian, though inquisitive in all matters, nor he who was called *Pius* sanctioned. But let any one treat these things as he chooses; we must pass on to what followed (translation of A. Cushman McGiffert).[45]

[45] Eusebius Pamphilius, Church History, Life of Constantine, Oration in Praise of Constantine. Translated by Arthur Cushman McGiffert. New York 1890.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 80–81, Harnack 1894, 836–842, 844–858, Domaszewski 1894, 616–618, Mommsen 1895, 90, 101, 104–105, Petersen 1895, 455, 460, 466–461, Domaszewski 1895, 127–128, Geffcken 1899, 259–262, Zwikker 1941, 211–213, Borzsák 1960, 244–245, Berwig 1970, 106–110, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 49–50, Fowden 1987, 85, Sage 1987, Klein 1989, 121–122, 126, Wolff 1989, 29, 42, Anm. 24, Wolff 1990, 11–12, Motschmann 2002, 127, 130–132, Perea Yébenes 2002, 41–42, 45–47, 83–103, 126–130, 137–149, 155–156.

Eusebius of Caesarea recorded the rain miracle in two works, using different sources for each, so he presented the rain miracle in two versions. In the *Ecclesiastical History*, which recorded history until 324 (the fall of Licinius), the version is as follows: V.5.1–2: During his campaign, Marcus Aurelius Caesar, fighting against the Germans and the Sarmatians, came close to extreme danger owing to a water shortage, then it began to rain due to prayers of the Christian soldiers of the Melitenean legion. This scared off the enemy and destroyed them, whereas it saved the Romans. The author summarised the consequence of the prayer based on another source. These are Eusebius' own words, however, that he put together based on different sources. He mentions that pagan historiographers also recorded the event (he probably thought of Dio here primarily), but they did not write about the Christians. In his opinion, there were several versions of the Christian version as well; he only referred to Apollinaris and Tertullian, but he had to have known a third one on the grounds of the different version of the *Chronicon*. He used only one item of data from Apollinaris, the name κεραυνοβόλος of the legion (V.5.4). It has been a common view in the research since Harnack that the whole version of the rain miracle described above is from Apollinaris, although this is not evident based on the above passage. That is why the only fact one can take for granted is that linking the name of the *legio XII fulminata* to the rain miracle can be tied to Apollinaris. In the continuation (V.5.5–7), Eusebius presented Tertullian's version. The figure of Marcus Aurelius Caesar, brother of Antoninus, was created so that the Christian-persecuting emperor could not be a participant in the miracle.[46] Since Domaszewski and Weizsäcker, it has also been a popular theory that the whole story is only Eusebius' brainchild, his only source Tertullian's text. They thought, consequently, that Dio LXXI.10,

[46] Sage 1987, 108–109.

where the lightning and rain miracles were confused, was Xiphilinus' interpolation, who followed Eusebius' tradition. This theory, as we have seen during the examination of Dio's text, cannot be proved. If this is not case, however, and one takes into consideration the possibility that Eusebius' version of the miracle corresponds to Apollinaris only in part, it becomes clear that Eusebius presented the end of the miracle based on Dio LXXI.10; the second source mentioned there is Cassius Dio. The confusion of the two miraculous events could be solely Dio's fault. In all probability Eusebius knew Dio's work, since he could probably think of no other pagan Greek historiographers. The reference to the sources and the end of the whole story (V.5.7 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τις ἐθέλοι, τιθέσθω·)[47] clearly show that Eusebius had doubts about the authenticity of this source. The popularity of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is demonstrated by the fact that it was translated into Armenian and Syriac besides Rufinus' Latin translation, presented below.

It is also noteworthy to study the question of Apollinaris and the *legio XII fulminata*. The certain Apollinaris mentioned by Eusebius can hardly be identified as any other person than the Apollinaris who was the bishop of Hierapolis during the reign of Marcus; he became well-known during the Easter debate and Eusebius mentions him several times in the *Ecclesiastical History* (IV.27, V.19). Eusebius lists the titles of the bishop's work he could read, from which the data pertaining the rain miracle may have originated: (1) Λόγος πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα (sc. Marcus Aurelius) (2) five books of Πρὸς Ἕλληνας (3) at least two books of Περὶ ἀληθείας. (4) two books of Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους. Since he addressed his apology to only one emperor, and his prime can be dated to the 10th year (the 11th year in the Armenian version) of the reign of Marcus, i.e., 170 (Chron. 206 Helm) and the emperor is certain to have been Marcus Aurelius, the work can be dated to between 169 and 178. Since Harnack, most researchers have been of the opinion that the sequence about the rain miracle used by Eusebius can be found in the *Chronicon*. This proposition, as Sage pointed out, is by no means certain; moreover, it is an unprovable assumption.[48] In his opinion, this work would have been the Πρὸς Ἕλληνας, since—against the official version supported by the emperor—the Christian version of the miracle could hardly appear in the speech addressed to the emperor whereby

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[47] Sage 1987, 97–104.
[48] Sage 1987, 110–111.

he wanted to protect Christianity and win the emperor's support. As noted above, Eusebius links only the name of the *legio XII fulminata* to the figure of Apollinaris. If he had read the whole version in any work of Apollinaris it follows that:

(1) The confusion of the lightning and the rain miracles appears not only in Dio: A. The two miracles were confused. B. The rain miracle was also accompanied by lightning.
(2) Domaszewski came to the conclusion based on this that Dio LXXI.10. is an interpolation and the whole story is Eusebius' brainchild.
(3) Eusebius' reference to various sources and the mention of his doubts are all false. Because of these I am of the opinion that this is less probable; I do not consider Dio LXX.10. a forged passage (see above).
(4) Eusebius referred to a work that knew Dio and survived under Apollinaris' name, but not his work.

According to Apollinaris, the legion of Melitene was given the title *fulminata* by virtue of the miracle, which is obviously a mistake (this had been its attribute since Augustus: cf. Dio LV.23.5).[49] It has been a common belief since Domaszewski that Apollinaris translated the name *legio XII fulminata* as κεραυνοβόλος by mistake instead of κεραυνοφόρος (with the meaning *fulminatrix* instead of *fulminata*: cf., e.g., IGRR III 889, IV 1323). The case is not as simple as it seems, as Sage has already pointed it out, since both attributes were also used with the opposite meaning (κεραυνοβόλος: Diod. Sic. I.13.3).[50] How could such a mistake happen, and what could have been written in Apollinaris? 1. There is no other data for the participation of this legion (or its vexillation) in the Marcomannic wars, but neither can it be excluded (see the participation of the *legio X fretensis* and *XV Apollinaris*).

(a) That raises the possibility that the contemporary Apollinaris knew of the Melitenean legion's battles in the Danubian region. (b) Mommsen's assumption is probably correct, i.e., the author linked the legion to Marcus' lightning miracle by virtue of an honorific title of

[49] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1705–1710.

[50] Sage 1987, 111, n. 105. Cf. H. G. Liddel – R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996, 942.

similar meaning.[51] The answer to the second question is also not as simple as it might seem; there are several possibilities and not enough data to decide. The solution would be simple if Eusebius had used a later work (from the third century) under the name of Apollinaris that recorded the rain miracle based on Dio.[52] This hypothetical work might well have been the speech addressed to Marcus, which thus could have contained the Christian version of the miracle experienced by the Melitenean legion. There is almost no possibility of proof, moreover, similar conscious "mistakes" can be demonstrated in other apologetic works from the second century.

Another possibility may be that Apollinaris saw an illustrated chronicle where the lightning motif[53] appeared on the soldiers' shields and identified the Cappadocian legion by mistake.[54] This imagery appears frequently on Trajan's column (e.g., scenes XX, XXVI, XXXII, LVI), whereas it does not appear on Marcus' column in the scenes in question (XI and XVI) and rarely appears elsewhere: in the 22nd and 29th soldiers' hands in the second scene.[55] Another possibility is that Apollinaris heard about the legion's honorary title (*constans*) granted by Marcus for expressing its loyalty during the revolt of Avidius Cassius[56] and he mistook it for the *fulminata.*

A third option is that Apollinaris linked the legion only to the lightning miracle and then this fact disappeared from Eusebius' version without a trace. A further option is that the miracles were not confused, but the rain miracle was accompanied by lightning. Naturally, the representation of scene XVI on Marcus' column does not support this view. The last possibility is that, like Dio, Apollinaris confused the two miracles. In this case, a common source seems possible (such as an illustrated chronicle), in which the confusion also appeared. Whichever option is correct, Eusebius himself could hardly have made up the whole story; the fact of a conscious forgery (as Domaszewski supposed) cannot be proved.

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[51] Mommsen 1895, 105.

[52] Barta 1968, 86. Ellene: Sage 1987, 111, n. 101.

[53] On *legionarius* representations this is a frequent decorative motive, it is difficult to identify the specific military unit: M. C. Bishop – J. C. N. Coulston, Roman military equipment from the Punic wars to the fall of Rome. London 1993, 82.

[54] Petersen already thought of that option: Petersen 1894, 80, Anm. 1.

[55] Caprino 1955, 69.

[56] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1708.

7. *Marcus Aurelius' forged epistle*

4th century A.D.
Edition: Harnack 1894, 878–879, Ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi I. Jena 1876[3] (repr. Wiesbaden 1969), 246–252.

Μάρκου βασιλέως Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σύγκλητον, ἐν ᾗ μαρτυρεῖ Χριστιανοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Γερμανικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς Δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ Ἱερᾷ Συγκλίτῳ χαίρειν. Φανερὰ ὑμῖν ἐποίησα τὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σκοποῦ μεγέθη, ὁποῖα ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐκ περιστάσεως διὰ περιβολῆς ἐπακολουθήματα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ Κοάδων καὶ Σαρματῶν, ἐν Κοτινοῖς καταλαμβανομένου μου ὑπὸ δρακόντων ἑβδομήκοντα τεσσάρων ἀπὸ μιλίων ἐννέα. Γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἐξπλωράτωρες ἐμήνυσαν ἡμῖν καὶ Πομπηιανὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος πολέμαρχος ἐδήλωσεν ἡμῖν ἅτινα εἴδομεν (καταλαμβανόμενος δὲ ἤμην ἐν μεγέθει πλήθους ἀμίκτου, καὶ στρατευμάτων λεγεῶνος πρίμας, δεκάτης, γεμίνας, φρεντησίας μῖγμα κατηριθμημένον), πλήθη παρεῖναι παμμίκτου ὄχλου χιλιάδων ἐνακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. Ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων, κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι πατρῴοις. Ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανοὺς καὶ ἐπερωτήσας εὗρον πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος εἰς αὐτούς, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπρεπε διὰ τὸ ὕστερον ἐπεγνωκέναι με τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν. Ὅθεν ἀρξάμενοι οὐ βελῶν παράρτησιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτε σαλπίγγων, διὰ τὸ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν θεόν, ὃν φοροῦσι κατὰ συνείδησιν. Εἰκὸς οὖν ἐστιν, οὓς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀθέους εἶναι ὅτι θεὸν ἔχουσιν αὐτόματον ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει τετειχισμένον. Ῥίψαντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἐδεήθησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος στρατεύματος, παρήγορον γενέσθαι δίψης καὶ λιμοῦ τῆς παρούσης. Πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ εἰλήφειμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι ἦμεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεσομφάλῳ τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν. Ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους ῥίψαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εὔχεσθαι θεῷ, ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν, εὐθέως ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει οὐρανόθεν, ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ψυχρότατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβούλους χάλαζα πυρώδης. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺ θεοῦ παρουσίαν ἐν εὐχῇ γινομένην παραυτίκα ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτου καὶ ἀκαταλύτου. Αὐτόθεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι συγχωρήσωμεν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι Χριστιανοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν τι τοιοῦτον

αἰτησάμενοι ὅπλον ἐπιτύχωσι. Τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον συμβουλεύω, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι Χριστιανόν, μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι. Εἰ δὲ εὑρεθείη τις ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Χριστιανῷ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι, τὸν μὲν προσαγόμενον Χριστιανὸν πρόδηλον εἶναι βούλομαι, γίνεσθαι ὁμολογήσαντα τοῦτο, ἄλλο ἕτερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλούμενον ἢ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι μόνον, τὸν προσάγοντα δὲ τοῦτον ζῶντα καίεσθαι τὸν δὲ Χριστιανὸν ὁμολογήσαντα καὶ συνασφαλισάμενον περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ μετάγειν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι κυρωθῆναι βούλομαι, καὶ κελεύω τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα ἐν τῷ φόρῳ τοῦ Τραιανοῦ προτεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Φροντίσει ὁ πραίφεκτος Βιτράσιος Πολλίων εἰς τὰς πέριξ ἐπαρχίας πεμφθῆναι πάντα δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔχειν μὴ κωλύεσθαι λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν προτεθέντων παρ' ἡμῶν.

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, to the People of Rome, and to the sacred Senate greeting: I explained to you my grand design, and what advantages I gained on the confines of Germany, with much labour and suffering, in consequence of the circumstance that I was surrounded by the enemy; I myself being shut up in Carnuntum by seventy-four cohorts, nine miles off. And the enemy being at hand, the scouts pointed out to us, and our general Pompeianus showed us that there was close on us a mass of a mixed multitude of 977,000 men, which indeed we saw; and I was shut up by this vast host, having with me only a battalion composed of the first, tenth, double and marine legions. Having then examined my own position, and my host, with respect to the vast mass of barbarians and of the enemy, I quickly betook myself to prayer to the gods of my country. But being disregarded by them, I summoned those who among us go by the name of Christians. And having made inquiry, I discovered a great number and vast host of them, and raged against them, which was by no means becoming; for afterwards I learned their power. Wherefore they began the battle, not by preparing weapons, nor arms, nor bugles; for such preparation is hateful to them, on account of the God they bear about in their conscience. Therefore it is probable that those whom we suppose to be atheists, have God as their ruling power entrenched in their conscience. For having cast themselves on the ground, they prayed not only for me, but also for the whole army as it stood, that they might be delivered from the present thirst and famine. For during five days we had got no water, because there was

none; for we were in the heart of Germany, and in the enemy's territory. And simultaneously with their casting themselves on the ground, and praying to God (a God of whom I am ignorant), water poured from heaven, upon us most refreshingly cool, but upon the enemies of Rome a withering hail. And immediately we recognised the presence of God following on the prayer—a God unconquerable and indestructible. Founding upon this, then, let us pardon such as are Christians, lest they pray for and obtain such a weapon against ourselves. And I counsel that no such person be accused on the ground of his being a Christian. But if any one be found laying to the charge of a Christian that he is a Christian, I desire that it be made manifest that he who is accused as a Christian, and acknowledges that he is one, is accused of nothing else than only this, that he is a Christian; but that he who arraigns him be burned alive. And I further desire, that he who is entrusted with the government of the province shall not compel the Christian, who confesses and certifies such a matter, to retract; neither shall he commit him. And I desire that these things be confirmed by a decree of the Senate. And I command this my edict to be published in the Forum of Trajan, in order that it may be read. The prefect Vitrasius Pollio will see that it be transmitted to all the provinces round about, and that no one who wishes to make use of or to possess it be hindered from obtaining a copy from the document I now publish. [57]

In contrast to the corrected version of Scaliger, I accept the original version published by Harnack, i.e., the venue of the miracle was the territory of the Cotini. I will analyse this source separately.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 863–871, 878–882, Domaszewski 1894, 616–617, Domaszewski 1895, 123–124, Mommsen 1895, 91, Anm. 2, Geffcken 1899, 264–267, 269, Anm. 1, Zwikker 1941, 213, Anm. 180, Freudenberger 1968, Merkelbach 1968, Berwig 1970, 135–140, Sage 1987, 106–107, Klein 1989, 126–127, Maffei 1990, 333, n. 11 Motschmann 2002, 126, Anm. 373, 128, Anm. 380, Perea Yébenes 2002, 52–71, 92–93, 96–103, 137–149, 156–157, 161–164.

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[57] www.synaxis.org/cf/volume01/ECF01EPISTLE_OF_MARCUS_AURELIUS_TO_TH.htm.

8. *Gregorius Nyssenus Encomium in XL mart. I. PG 46, 757C–759B.*

A.D. 371–394 (?)
Edition: PG 46, pp. 749–772.

Ἦν τι τάγμα στρατιωτικὸν παλαιὸν κατὰ τὴν γείτονα πόλιν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ὁρμὰς προκαθήμενον ἐκείνοις ἔκ τινος προϋπαρχούσης θεόθεν ἐπιφανείας, πλεῖον ἡ πίστις τῶν τακτικῶν ἐσπουδάζετο. Καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἄκαιρον ἕν τι κατόρθωμα τῆς πίστεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἐν παραδρομῇ διηγήσασθαι. Συστάντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ποτε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμου, καὶ τῶν ἐπικαίρων πάντων προκαταληφθέντων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων στρατιᾶς, καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξουσίᾳ γεγενημένων, εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλθόντες κίνδυνον, εἴτε δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα στρατηγούντων, εἴτε διά τινα κρείττονα καὶ θειοτέραν οἰκονομίαν, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ διὰ τούτου φανείη τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους διάφορον ἐπειδὴ οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ πολλή τις ἦν ἡ ἀμηχανία, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς πίδακος ἢ ἀποῤῥοίας ὑδάτων ἐμφαινομένης τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν ὑποκύψαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκπολιορκηθέντας τῷ δίψει τότε καταλιπόντες οἱ γενναῖοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων βοήθειαν, ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἄμαχον καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐν τοῖς φοβεροῖς ἐπικαλέσασθαι συμμαχίαν. Ἀφέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς μήπω παραδεδεγμένους τὴν πίστιν, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἰδιάσαντες, μιμοῦνται τὴν ἐπὶ Ἠλίου τοῦ προφήτου γενομένην θαυματουργίαν, κοινῇ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συντεταγμένῃ λύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀμηχάνων γενέσθαι τῆς συμφορᾶς αἰτησάμενοι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ηὔχοντο ἡ δὲ εὐχὴ παραχρῆμα ἔργον ἐγίνετο. Ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ γονυκλισίᾳ προσκαρτερούντων, πνεύματι βιαίῳ νεφέλη ποθὲν ἀποληφθεῖσα, μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἵστατο εἶτα βροντὰς ἐξαισίους ἐπικτυπήσασα, καὶ ἀστραπὰς φλογώδεις κατὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐξάψασα, κατεῤῥήγνυεν ὕδωρ ποταμῶν ἀφθονώτερον ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ὑπεναντίοις, καὶ τῶν σκηπτῶν τὴν συνέχειαν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐπομβρίας αἴτιον γενέσθαι παντελοῦς καταφθορᾶς τούτοις δὲ τοῖς διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν παραταξαμένοις, ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἀμφότερα γενέσθαι, πρός τε τὴν νίκην τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν παραμυθίαν τῆς δίψης, τῆς τῶν χειμάῤῥων ἀποῤῥοῆς ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τὸν πότον χορηγούσης.

Of old there was a unit of soldiers present in the vicinity of a neighbouring city, in order to provide protection against the attacks of the barbarians for the whole population. Because of an earlier divine apparition the faith was to them of greater concern than military tactics.

Maybe this is not a bad moment to narrate in passing one success of these men's faith. Once, when they were entangled in a war with the barbarians, all the key positions had been occupied by the army of their adversaries and the control of the water supplies were also in enemy hands. They were in the greatest of dangers, either because of the lack of experience of their officers, or because of a stronger and more divine dispensation, meaning that because of this the difference of the Christians vis-à-vis non-Christians would become blatantly clear. At the time they had nothing that they needed in their situation; they were helpless because in the place where they were, there was no well nor a source of flowing water and the danger existed that, through being successfully besieged by thirst, they would have to bow to their adversaries. At that moment the noble men abandoned the help of weapons and decided to seek in their terrifying situation an unconquered and invincible ally. They left behind in the camp those who had not yet received the faith and separated them from themselves. Then they imitated the miracle that happened to the prophet Elijah (cf. 1 Kings 18:30–45), asking in unison with a common voice that they should be liberated from their extremely infelicitous situation. So, they prayed, and their prayer became reality immediately. For while they persevered in kneeling, a cloud, that had been taken away from elsewhere by a strong wind, took up position in the sky high above the camp of the enemies. Then it produced an enormous thunderbolt, it threw fiery flashes of light on those beneath it and poured forth water in greater quantities than rivers, with the result that for our enemies the combination of the continuous thunderbolts and the abundant rain was the cause of their complete destruction. But to those who formed a line of battle through their prayers it served both purposes: victory against their opponents and alleviation of their thirst—the water that was abundantly pouring down in torrents provided them with drink (translation of J. Leemans).[58]

Gregory of Nyssa, the youngest of the three Cappadocian fathers (approx. 335–394), was a famous speaker; he made several speeches in honour of the martyrs. Among these, two speeches were delivered

[58] J. Leemans – W. Mayer – P. Allen – B. Dehandschutter, Let us die that we may live. Greek homilies on Christian martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. A.D. 350–A.D. 450). London-New York 2003, 98–99.

around 381,[59] in which—due to his Cappadocian origins—he commemorated the 40 martyrs killed in Sebaste during Licinius' persecution of Christians who were soldiers in the *legio XII fulminata*. Gregory mentions the story of the rain miracle in his second speech, since—like others—he was convinced that the miracle happened to the soldiers of this legion. According to his speech, the following events happened: the legion was protecting the neighbouring(!) town against the numerically superior barbarians when severe thirst arose due to a water shortage (there were no springs nearby), and they were about to surrender. The Christian leaders understood that nothing but a miracle could save them. They were praying on their knees, unarmed, for aid that did not fail to arrive. A great thunderstorm with lightning emerged above the camp of the enemy, destroying them. Gregory compared this miracle to that of Elijah, who put an end to a drought by his prayers (Old Testament, I Kings 18: 41–46). There was a dual outcome of the prayer: victory and the end of the thirst. In Harnack's view, there are several individual motifs in this speech that can be traced back to an independent tradition of Melitene. Analysing the description more thoroughly, I cannot find any element (the *legio XII fulminata*, the water shortage, the prayer of the Christians on their knees, thunder and lightning that destroyed the enemy) that cannot be found in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*; the differences originate only from the rhetorical embroidering of the basic motifs; thus, the defence of the town could appear in the speech. The streams leaving their banks is the only motif that can be traced back to a separate source, since this scene, which does not appear elsewhere, can be seen in the representations on Marcus' column! Apparently, Gregory was not aware of the fact, or at least he considered mentioning it unimportant, that the original venue was in the Barbaricum neighbouring Pannonia and the events took place during the reign of Marcus. It is another question whether or not Gregory knew Dio's original text (especially LXXI.10.), as Petersen and Berwig supposed. The rain and lightning together destroyed the enemy here, as one can read in Dio (10.2–3), not excluded by the description in the *Ecclesiastical History* (V.5.1).

[59] J. Simon, Où et quand furent prononcées les orationes in XL martyres de s. Gregoire de Nysse? In: Handes Amsorga. Monatschrift für armenische Philologie 41, 1927, 733 ff.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 859–861, Mommsen 1895, 104, Anm. 2, Petersen 1895, 455–456, 468–469, Geffcken 1899, 268, Berwig 1970, 133–135, Klein 1989, 131, Perea Yébenes 2002, 49–50, 85–86.

9. *Themistius Oratio XV.191b*

January 15, A.D. 381 (?)
Edition: Ed. H. Schenkl-G. Downey, Themistii orationes quae supersunt I–III. Leipzig 1965–1974.

Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, ᾧ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπώνυμον ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἦν, τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους αὐτῷ πιεζομένου, ἀνασχὼν τὼ χεῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ταύτῃ, ἔφη, τῇ χειρὶ προὐτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἱκέτευσα τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ᾗ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην. καὶ οὕτω κατῄδεσε τὸν θεὸν τῇ εὐχῇ ὥστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἧκον νεφέλαι ὑδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέντας καὶ ἐμπιπλαμένους τοῦ νάματος τοῦ θεοσδότου.

Antoninus, the emperor of the Romans, who was also called Pius, when his army was suffering from thirst, lifted his hands up toward heaven and said: "I call you with my hand, Giver of Life, with which I have not killed anyone and I pray to you." With this prayer he implored the deity; clouds gathered in the clear sky and brought water to the soldiers. I myself saw this event painted on a picture, where the emperor is praying in the battle line and his soldiers are holding up their helmets for the rain and filling them with the divine water.

Themistius, an orator from the 4th century A.D. (317–388)—despite being a pagan—had a good relationship with several Christian emperors. He was the *praefectus urbi* of Constantinopolis (383–384) and tutor of Arcadius, an heir to the throne, for a while. 33 of his speeches have come down to us in Greek, as well as Syriac translations of some further speeches. His school was one of most significant of his age. He tried to mediate between paganism and Christianity in his works: PWRE V A (1934) 1642–1680, J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court. Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius*. Ann Arbor 1991, 201–202 (about the rain miracle). This locus in his speech addressed to Emperor Theodosius is a version of the pagan variant of the rain miracle according to which the emperor himself caused the miracle to happen. Contrary to several researchers' opinions, however,

this variant was not created in the 4th century as a counter-thesis of the Christian variant, but only recalled the events described in book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina*. It is only an interesting addition that he mistook Marcus Aurelius for Antoninus Pius because Marcus also used the name Antoninus. The graphe seen by Themistius could hardly be Marcus' column; this may be merely a rhetorical phrase or perhaps he saw an illustrated book about the events of the Marcomannic campaign.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 82–84, Harnack 1894, 871–872, Petersen 1895, 474, Geffcken 1899, 268, Praechter 1905, Zwikker 1941, 214, Berwig 1970, 144–145, S. Mac Cormack, Art and ceremony in late Antiquity. London-Berkley-Los Angeles 1981, 332, n. 211, Fowden 1987, 86, Klein 1989, 128–129, Maffei 1990, 335, H. Leppin-W. Portmann, Themistios. Staatsreden. Übersetzung, Einführung und Erläuterungen. Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 46. Stuttgart 1998, 255–256, R. J. Penella, The private orations of Themistius. Berkeley-London 2000, 225, Perea Yébenes 2002, 48–49, 84, 156.

10. *Oratio XXXIV.21*

The 380s
φιλοτιμοῦμαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν 'Αντωνῖνον ἐκεῖνος ὕδωρ ἐπηγάγετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δίψει τῆς φάλαγγος πιεζομένης, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔσβεσας φλόγα τοσοῦτον μέρος τῆς γῆς ἐπινεμηθεῖσαν.

I also enter the arena against Antoninus: while the emperor did procure water from heaven when his infantry were hard pressed by thirst, you, [Theodosius], extinguished a fire that had spread over a great portion of the earth (translation of R. J. Penella).

The scene of the rain miracle even appears in the XXVIth speech of Themistius, which few researchers have discovered so far: Geffcken 1899, 268, GLQFM III, p. 665. The second part of this passage is of the utmost importance since it refers to the lightning miracle, i.e., Marcus put out the spreading fire so the Romans did not incur losses.

Literature: H. Schneider, Die 34. Rede des Themistios (περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς). Einleitung, Überseztung und Kommentar. Winterthur 1966, 133, G. C. Hansen, Nachlese zu Themistios. Philologus 111, 1967, 116, R.J. Penella, The private orations of Themistius. Berkeley-London 2000, 225.

11. *Rufinus Historia Ecclesiastica V.5*

After A.D. 395
Edition: Eusebius werke II. Die Kirchengeschichte. Hrsg. E. Schwartz. Die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus. Hrsg. Th. Mommsen. Leipzig 1903.

Igitur Antonini temporibus, quibus haec gesta referuntur, Marcum Aurelium fratrem eius Caesarem bella inferentem Germanis ac Sarmatis tradunt historiae, cum siti eius periclitaretur exercitus, aestuantem, quid facto opus eset, repperisse in legione quadam milites Christianos, quibus ut nostris mos est, flexis genibus obsecrantibus exaudisse deum supplicationes eorum, et subito contra omnium spem largissimis imbribus profusis exercitus quidem periclitantis, pro quo oraverant Christiani, sitim sedatam, hostes vero, qui iam exitialiter imminebant, fulminibus crebris et caelitus prolapsis ignibus effugatos. Quod factum refertur quidem et ab historicis gentilium, sed quia nostrorum id orationibus inpetratum sit, non refertur, quippe apud quos etiam cetera miracula, quae a nostris gesta sunt, non habent fidem. Nostrorum vero et Tertullianus haec memorat et apud Graecos Apollinaris, qui etiam ipsam legionem pro insignis facti miraculo mutato nomine vocitatam dicit ab imperatore fulmineam. Tertullianus vero Marci imperatoris epistulas etiam nunc haberi dicit, quibus de his apertius indicatur.

The translation see above.

Rufinus, the Latin translator of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, followed the original Greek text closely, though with minor changes and omissions. Cf. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. V.5.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 858, Geffcken 1899, 267, Borzsák 1960, 242–243, 245.

12. *Jerome (Hieronymus) Chronicon 206i (Helm)*

A.D. 380
Edition: R. Helm (Hrsg.), Die Chronik des Hieronymus. G. C. S. 47. Berlin 1956.

Imperator Antoninus multis adversum se nascentibus bellis saepe ipse intererat, saepe duces nobilissimos destinabat, in quibus semel Pertinaci et exercitui, qui cum eo in Quadorum regione pugnabat, siti oppresso, pluvia divinitus missa est; cum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina persequerentur, et plurimos eorum interficerent.

Exstant litterae Marci Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim, Christianorum forte militum precationibus, impetrato imbre, discussam contestatur.

The emperor Antoninus sometimes personally participated in many of the wars that arose against him, sometimes he appointed very noble commanders. Among them, a rainstorm of the Divinity once was sent for Pertinax and his army while he was fighting with the emperor in the land of the Quadi and was oppressed with thirst; while on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians, and slew most of them.

There is extant a letter of Marcus Aurelius, a most serious emperor, in which it is witnessed that a drought of Germany was finished, perhaps by the prayers of the Christian soldiers, rain having been obtained (translation of R. Pearse).[60]

Jerome made the Latin translation of Eusebius' work, then continued presenting the events until A.D. 378. See above the comments on Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* for further information. Cf. FPA 1, 216–217, FPA 2, 40–41.

Literature: Petersen 1894, Harnack 1894, 836, 841, Anm. 6, 858, Zwikker 1941, 210–211, Rubin 1979, 362–363, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 49, 58, Sage 1987, 104–108, Klein 1989, 126, Wolff 1990, 16, Anm. 16, Perea Yébenes 2002, 46.

13. *Historia Augusta vita Marci 24.4*

Turn of 4th century A.D.
Edition: Scriptores Historiae Augustae I–II. Ed. E. Hohl. Leipzig 1965.

24.4. *fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit su<i>s pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent.*

By his prayers he summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy, and successfully besought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst (translation of D. Magie).[61]

In the *vita Marci* of the *Historia Augusta* this is the only sentence that contains both miracles. This is a short but very important source, since the lightning miracle appears separately only in this written source. According to Schwendemann, who dealt with the historical authenticity of the *vita Marci*, this work is based on three sources: (1) biographic

[60] www.tertullian.org/fathers/jerome_chronicle.
[61] The Historia Augusta I. With an English translation by David Magie. London-Cambridge/Mass. 1932.

(2) annalist (3) interpolations of the writer, mainly from Eutropius.[62] Today, the standpoint of research has changed; there is no reason to suppose that they came from a separate work. The general opinion today is that the interpolations can be traced back to Marius Maximus, who wrote biographies of the emperors from Nerva to Heliogabalus, although in Barnes' and R. Syme's opinions the author of the *Historia Augusta* used the biographies of a mysterious Ignotus. The gist of the description of the miracle, as has been clear since Petersen, is that the first half of the sentence is undoubtedly a description of the lightning miracle represented on scene XI of Marcus' column.[63] The word *machinamentum* can only be translated as siege tower; it means the same in the only other passage of the HA where it appears (vita Max. 22.5).[64] Its authenticity is also strengthened by the fact that Marcus is personally present, in accordance with the representation on the column, and the miracle took place owing to his prayers. The miracle, however, comes from the sky, as a gift of the Lord of Heaven (cf. Or. Sib. XII, 199: θεὸς οὐράνιος).

Examining the ablative absolute pertaining to the second miracle leads to an interesting result. It is undoubtedly noteworthy since almost the same expression is used in Tertullian: *pluvia—imbri impetrata*. In Zwikker's opinion, this is an impersonal ablative absolute by which the author wanted to express distance. This is not a very probable solution, since the possessive pronoun *suis* refers directly to the prayers of the emperor, and every ablative absolute with a perfect participle would be formed the same way. I must note that I am not absolutely sure that this construction is an ablative absolute; it may be a simple passive subordinate clause in which the verb of existence (*est*) is missing from beside the participle *impetrata*. The word *suis*, however, can also be identified as a dative commodi, i.e., Marcus implored for rain for his thirsty soldiers.[65] It is true that Marcus was also a participant in the lightning miracle based on this sentence of the *vita*. It is worth noting R. Klein's supposition[66] here that the tendentiousness of the writer can be

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[62] Schwendemann 1923.

[63] It is not accidental that the less probable theory has arisen and that its source is the representation on the column: W. Hartke, Römische Kinderkaiser. Berlin 1951, 253–254.

[64] C. Lessing, Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon. Hildesheim 1964, 329, ThLL VIII/1 (1986) 14–15: cf. especially: Veget. Epit. 4.17: *turres dicuntur machinamenta ad aedificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulatisque compacta.*

[65] Based on Alföldy G.'s suggestion.

[66] Klein 1989, 133–138.

demonstrated in this sentence. Even though this theory may not be applicable to the whole source,[67] it can be partly right, i.e., Marcus became the key character of the rain miracle owing to the pagan-Christian debate on the rain miracle in the 4th century. In plain language, the sentence used an authentic source, namely Marcus' biography, but during the compilation the writer of the HA compressed the sequence on the two miracles into one sentence; in my opinion, he was the one who inserted the possessive pronoun pertaining to Marcus in the sentence. Inasmuch as the appearance of almost the same expression is in Tertullian's work and in the vita are not incidental, we can suppose that they had a common source, which could hardly be anything else than Marcus' epistle, which was known to both the Christian author and the biographer. One cannot exclude the possibility, either, that the emperor was present at both miracles according to the original biography.

The position of the sentence in the vita is noteworthy; it could serve as an aid to determining its date. The composer of the vita recorded the events of the first war sparsely from chapters XII.13 to XXIV of the biography, but more or less in chronological order; he often interrupted the presentation of the course of events:

Marcomannic wars	*Excursus*
12.13–14. Outbreak of the war, A.D. 166	
13.1–6. *peregrini ritus*, plague in Rome, A.D. 167	
14.1–8. Campaign of the two emperors, death of Verus, beginning of A.D. 168–169	
15.1–6. Marcus' habits, stories of Verus' death, his esteem, he becomes *divus*	
	16.1–2. Divided tribunician power and his triumph A.D. 176
	3–7. The virtues of

[67] I do not agree with Geffcken's and Klein's opinions that the whole sentence can be linked to the writer. As far as the lightning miracle is concerned, Marcus was also present, moreover, he himself caused the miracle, and we cannot suppose a late pagan source arguing with the Christians. In the latter case, the author would have to link the emperor only to the rain miracle, about which we have data from 150 years before from the *Oracula Sibyllina.* The deliberate *brevitas* applied for historical authenticity does appear in the historical works written in late antiquity, but the *vita Marci* is not a good example, since the rain miracle appears here in only one barely intelligible sentence that is entirely out of context. *Brevitas* here is applied at the expense of understanding.

Marcomannic wars	*Excursus*
	Marcus (cf. Eutr. VIII.12).
17.1–3. Short summary of the Marcomannic wars	
4–6. His fortune is auctioned, A.D. 169 (Eutr. VIII.13).[68]	
7. Spectacles.	
	18.1–8. Marcus' death, his esteem (cf. Eutr. VIII.14).
	19.1–7. Faustina's story.
	8–12. Marcus' virtues.
20.1–5. Verus' funeral, beginning of A.D. 169	
20.6–7. Pompeianus; marriage, A.D. 169.	
	21.1–2. The Moors' invasion of Hispania, Bucoli in Egypt, around A.D. 172
21.3–5. The death of his son, his *profectio*, autumn of A.D. 169	
21.6–8. Extraordinary recruiting.	
21.9. Auctions, A.D. 169	
21.10. Victory over the retreating Marcomanni at the Danube, A.D. 171?	
22.1. A list of the people involved in the war.	
22.2. The danger of Parthian and British wars.	
22.2. Victory over the Marcomanni, settlement in Italy.	
	22.3–4. His advisors.
22.5. His military strictness.	
22.6–7. The honour of the deceased in war.	
22.8. His staying in the theatre of war.	
	22.9. Provincial reorganizations.
	10–11. Provincial commotions.
22.12. Commodus is given the *toga virilis* at the frontier, A.D. 175	
23.5. Gladiators in the war.	
	23.1–9. Marcus' economy—his other instructions.
	24.1–3. His judicial activity.

[68] J. Schwartz, La vita Marci 17, 4 et ses développements (Problèmes de composition et de la polémique anti-chrétienne. In: BHAC 1970. Bonn 1972, 249–269.

Marcomannic wars	*Excursus*
24.4. Barbarian settlements, lightning and rain miracle.	
24.5. A plan for organising Marcomannia and Sarmatia.	
24.5–25.1. Suspension of the war owing to the revolt of Avidius Cassius, A.D. 175.	

As one can see clearly, the rain miracle has a similar role in the vita compared to Xiphilinus' epitome. The editor placed it at the end, taking it out of the chronology; before this, he recorded his other instructions (XXIII.1–XXIV.3) such as the settlement of barbarians on Roman territories. Finally, the plan of organizing the provinces of Marcomannia and Sarmatia ended the sequence. From this it follows that the *vita Marci* does not allow one to deduce the date of the miracles.

The biography collection entitled *Historia Augusta* by the humanist Casaubonus contains 30 Roman emperors' biographies from Hadrian to Carinus (A.D. 117–284—more precisely until the death of Carinus in 285); the biographies of the emperors between 244 and 253 are missing. These vitae have come down to us under the name of six historiographers about whom we have no information except for their names. That is why it has been the most widely accepted theory since the basic study of H. Dessau that this work was compiled by an author who belonged to the pagan senatorial circles in Rome; he published his works under the names of fictitious authors from the tetrarchy and Constantine's age at the beginning of the 5th century. The figure of the compiler is quite problematic; there have been arguments for Nicomachus Flavianus (W. Hartke), but more researchers (recently F. Paschoud) have identified the redactor as Vopiscus, one of the compilers considered fictitious. The purpose of the work is apologetic against the spread of Christianity. According to other, less accepted views (Th. Mommsen, A. Momigliano, A. Lippold), original biographies that had been written during the reign of Constantine were revised later but only to a small extent. Others (E. Hohl, N. H. Baynes) have dated the compilation of the biographies to the age of Julian Apostata. There are opinions that the date is the 5th century (J. Straub: after 405, 438), although the 6th century (Domaszewski) is not excluded. It is fact that the earliest use of the biographies can be demonstrated in the younger Symmachus' historical work (around A.D. 520), which has come down to us in Jordanes' *Getica* (83.8). The values of the various biographies as sources differ from one another, but the earlier biographies that recorded the period in question are based on good sources, whereas

more and more fictitious elements appear in the later chapters. These fictitious elements are, for example, 13 speeches, 75 epistles, and the minutes of 31 senatorial sessions. The sources from the 2nd century that are considered to be good probably go back to Marius Maximus, who wrote the biographies of the emperors from Nerva to Heliogabalus as a continuation of Suetonius'. The compiler of the vitae himself often referred to Suetonius' work. According to other theories (primarily R. Syme's) a mysterious biographer called Ignotus was the primary source of the good biographies.

For Marius Maximus: J. J. Müller, Der Geschichtsschreiber L. Marius Maximus. in: Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte III. Leipzig 1870, 17–, Birley 1987, 229–230, A. R. Birley, Septimius Severus: The African emperor. London 1988[2], 205–206, Birley 1997.

For Ignotus: R. Syme, Ignotus, the good biographer. in: BHAC 1966/1967. Bonn 1968, 131–153 = Emperors and biography. Studies in the Historia Augusta. Oxford 1971, 30–53, R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta. Oxford 1968, R. Syme, Historia Augusta papers. Oxford 1983, R. Syme, The Historia Augusta: a call for clarity. Antiquitas Reihe 4/8. Bonn 1971, T. D. Barnes, The sources of the Historia Augusta. Coll. Latomus 158. Bruxelles 1978, H. W. Benario, "Ignotus", the "Good biographer". in: ANRW 34/3. Berlin—New York 1997, 2759–2772.

For lack of other data, the compiler of the *Historia Augusta* often drew on the lost *Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte*, the works of Cassius Dio, Herodian (especially for the biographies between 235 and 238), Dexippus, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius (see the case of *vita Marci*: 16.3–18.3 = Eutr. 8.11–14); he used Jerome's translation of the *Chronicon* and in all probability *Ammianus Marcellinus*, but often mixed real elements with fictitious ones (such as epistles and speeches). The supposition of Mommsen, who divided the earliest part of the collection into nine main and seven additional biographies, is still acceptable: 1. Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Marcus, Commodus, Pertinax, Didius Iulianus, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus. 2. Aelius Caesar, Verus, Avidius Cassius, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Geta, Diadumenianus. Several researchers (such as T. D. Barnes) have recently highlighted the primacy of the *vita Veri* over the *vita Macrini*. It is undeniable that the biographies until Heliogabalus contain the most authentic data, whereas the proportion of fiction grows by leaps and bounds from the biography of Severus Alexander. Obviously, the biographies of the first group served as the original source, and then the compiler of the vitae

used them while writing the additional biographies by cutting out certain parts. For example, the data of the original biography of Marcus were used for the biographies of Verus and Avidius Cassius, and a great many fictitious elements were added, especially to the latter. F. Kolb's statements are still valid for the method of using the sources: F. Kolb, Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta. Antiquitas Reihe 4/9. Bonn 1972, 18–25. He notes the following methods: (1) excerpta almost word-for-word. (2) shortenings (3) additions (4) rewriting of details and whole scenes (5) transfers. There are examples for most of these methods in this text.

Literature: C. Lessing, Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon. Leipzig 1901–1906, H. Dessau, Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der S. H. A. Hermes 24, 1889, 337–92, 27, 1892, 561–625, 29, 1894, 393–416, Th. Mommsen, Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae. Hermes 25, 1890, 228–92 = Gesammelte Schriften VII. Berlin 1909, 302–362, N. H. Baynes, The Historia Augusta. Its date and purpose. Oxford 1926, J. A. Straub, Heidnische Geschichtsapologetik in der christlichen Spätantike. Untersuchungen über Zeit und Tendenz der Historia Augusta. Antiquitas Reihe 4/1. Bonn 1963, R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta. Oxford 1968, R. Syme, Emperors and biography. Studies in the Historia Augusta. Oxford 1971, R. Syme, The Historia Augusta: a call for clarity. Antiquitas Reihe 4/8. Bonn 1971, R. Syme, Historia Augusta papers. Oxford 1983, F. Kolb, Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta. Antiquitas Reihe 4/9. Bonn 1972, T. D. Barnes, The sources of the Historia Augusta. Coll. Latomus 158. Bruxelles 1978, A. Lippold, Die Historia Augusta. Eine Sammlung römischer Kaiserbiographien aus der Zeit Konstantins. Mit einem Vorw. und Reg. Hrsg. von G. H. Waldherr. Stuttgart 1998, Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1 (1963)-21 (1991), Historiae Augustae Colloquium I. Parisinum, II. Genevense, III. Maceratense, IV. Barcinonense, V. Bonnense, VI. Argentoratense, VII. Genevense, VIII. Perusinum, IX. Barcinonense. Historiae Augustae Colloquia. N. s. 1 (1991)-9 (2005).

Vita Marci: Schwendemann 1923, Kerler 1970, 49–81, Birley 1987, passim, A. Dubreuil, La biographie de l'empereur Marc-Aurèle dans le recueil de l'Histoire Auguste. Diss. Montréal. Ann Arbor 1991, Birley 1997, 2733–2736, Merten 1985, 107–158.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 82–83, Harnack 1894, 871, Mommsen 1895, 102, Petersen 1895, 458, 465, Marcus-Säule, 56, 112, Geffcken 1899, 262, Schwendemann 1923, 78–80, Zwikker 1941, 214, Roos 1943, 16–17, Borzsák 1960, 244, Freudenberger 1968, 253, Barta 1968, 86, Kerler 1970, 71–73, Berwig 1970, 143–144, Schindler-Horstkotte 1986, 62, Birley 1987, 171–172, Scheithauer 1987, 123–124, Klein 1989, Wolff 1989, 41, Anm. 17, Wolff 1990, 16–17, Maffei 1990, 336, Motschmann 2002, 133, Anm. 400, Perea Yébenes 2002, 47, 108–114.

14. *Claudianus VI. cons. Hon. 339–350*

A.D. 404
Edition: MGH AA 10 (1892) 236–258.

Nec tantis patriae studiis ad templa vocatus, / Clemens Marce, redis, cum gentibus undique cinctam / Exuit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.

Laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem / Decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat / Ambustus sonipes; hic tabescente solutus / Subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis / Canduit et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.

Tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli / Pugna fuit: Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu / Armavere deos, seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis / Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

It was a lesser enthusiasm which recalled the gentle Marcus Aurelius to give thanks in Rome's temples for Fortune's deliverance of Italy from a similar pressure of surrounding nations. Then 'twas no thanks to the generals; for a fiery shower fell on the enemy; one man his scorched courser bore trembling on its smoking back; another sank down beneath his fire-wasted helmet; spears glowed molten by lightning and swords vanished suddenly into smoke. Heaven it was that fought that battle with no mortal weapons, whether it was that Chaldean seers had by their magic spells won over the gods to our side or, as I rather think, that Marcus' blameless life had power to win the Thunderer's homage (translation of M. Platnauer).[69]

Claudius Claudianus from Alexandria was born around 370; he maintained connections with high senatorial circles and the court from the 390s. He won supporters of very high rank (even Stilicho) by virtue

[69] Claudian. With an English translation by Maurice Platnauer. Loeb Classical Library 135–136. London-Cambridge/Mass. 1922.

of his works in Latin. With Stilicho's help, he held high posts (*tribunus*, and then *notarius*). He was always looking for an opportunity to perpetuate solemn events, thus he commemorated, e.g., the consulates of Emperor Honorius. This poem was written for the sixth consulate of Emperor Honorius (A.D. 404), one of the last works of the poet. He probably died in the same year. The poet drew a parallel between the rain miracle and the successful halt of the advance of the Goths in the previous year (403). It is interesting to observe that the poet, living in the Christian court, presented two pagan versions of the miracle. It is an important fact that the attribute Chaldaeus does not pertain to the magus (which can also be considered an attribute), but to the *carmina*. Its meaning is thus simply "magic song", i.e., it does not denote the origin of the magus. The most valuable data in Claudianus' description is that he used the expression *flammeus imber*, which is the Latin translation of χάλαζα πυρώδης in the forged epistle of Marcus. However, Dio also used the word χάλαζα. Thus, Claudius' main source was Cassius Dio; furthermore, the similar description and the appearance of the lightning and the rain together both seem to justify my theory that Dio LXXI.10 cannot be the epitomist's forgery based on Eusebius, but Eusebius used Cassius Dio. Cf. Fowden 1987, 94, n. 51.

I will analyse Eusebius' work separately in the chapter on Julian.

Cf. PWRE III (1899) 2652–2661, A. Cameron, Claudian. Poetry and propaganda at the court of Honorius. Oxford 1970, 223–224, Duval 1971, 649–652 Nr. 271, GLQFM IV, 480–486.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 872–873, Geffcken 1899, 269, Berwig 1970, 146–147, Fowden 1987, 86, Klein 1989, 129–130, Maffei 1990, 336, Claudian, Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti. Edited with introduction, translation, and literary commentary by M. Dewar. Oxford 1996, 256–259, Perea Yébenes 2002, 47–48, 83–84, 156.

15. *Orosius Historiarum adversum paganos libri 7.15.8–9*

A.D. 415–417

Edition: PL 31 (1846), Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII. CSEL 5. Ed. C. Zangemeister. Vindobonae 1882.

Hoc quidem bellum, providentia Dei administratum esse, cum plurimis argumentis, tum prae-cipue epistola gravissimi ac modestissimi imperatoris apertissime declaratum est. Nam cum insurrexissent gentes immanitate barbarae, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc est Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi, atque omnis pene Germania; et in Quadorum usque fines progressus exercitus, circumventusque ab hostibus, propter aquarum penuriam praesentius sitis quam hostis periculum sustineret: ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito magna fidei constantia quidam milites effusi in preces palam fecerunt, tanta vis pluviae effusa est, ut Romanos quidem largissime ac sine injuria refecerit, Barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus perterritos, praesertim cum plurimi eorum occiderentur, in fugam coegerit. Quorum terga Romani usque ad internecionem caedentes gloriosissimam victoriam, et omnibus pene antiquorum titulis praeferendam, rudi parvoque militum numero, sed potentissimo Christi auxilio, reportarunt. Exstare etiam nunc apud plerosque dicuntur litterae Imperatoris Antonini, ubi invocatione nominis Christi per milites Christianos, et sitim illam depulsam et collatam fatetur fuisse victoriam.

That this war, indeed, was managed by the providence of God is made very evident, not only by many proofs, but especially by a letter of that very grave and discreet emperor. For when the tribes, barbarous by their cruelty and innumerable in number, that is, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Suebi, and almost all the Germans, had risen in rebellion, and the Roman army had advanced up to the territory of the Quadi and were surrounded by the enemy, it would have sustained more immediate danger from thirst on account of the scarcity of water than from the enemy; and when certain soldiers proceeded to call upon the name of Christ, which they did suddenly and publicly, giving forth their souls in prayer with great constancy of faith, so great a force of rain was poured forth that it most abundantly refreshed the Romans without doing them any harm, and forced the barbarians who were terrified by frequent strokes of lightning, especially since a great many of them were killed, into flight. The Romans, attacking the enemy in the rear and slaughtering them to a man with a small number of raw recruits but with the most powerful aid of Christ, brought back a most glorious victory, one superior to those known in the past. A letter of the emperor, Antoninus, is also said by some authors to exist today in which he acknowledges that, through the invocation of the name of Christ by the Christian soldiers, the thirst of the army was relieved and the victory granted (translation of R. J. Deferrari).[70]

[70] Paulus Orosius, The Seven Books of History against the Pagans. Translated by R. J. Deferrari. Washington 1964, 309–310.

Paulus Orosius, a presbyter from Hispania who also had connections with Augustine and Jerome, won fame for his work written against the Priscillianist and Origenist heresy. At Augustine's encouragement, he wrote the *Historiarum adversum paganos libri* VII (Seven Books of History against the Pagans) that covers history from the creation of the world until A.D. 417. It was immensely popular in the Middle Ages; approximately 200 manuscripts have been preserved. The most important sources for this passage from the 7th book are Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (V.5.), and Jerome's *Chronicon*; although the same motifs appear in Orosius, the author rewrote and embroidered his sources to a great extent. The only exception is a sentence on Marcus' epistle that is almost verbatim from Jerome. The story of the rain miracle became known primarily through the popularity of Orosius' work in the Middle Ages in the West.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 859, A. Lippold, Rom und die Barbaren in der Beurteilung des Orosius. Diss. Erlangen 1952, 33, Borzsák 1960, 248–249, Klein 1989, 131–133, Perea Yébenes 2002, 51, 88, 130.

16. *Prosper Tiro Chron. PL 51 (1846) 564*

Before A.D. 455
Edition: PL 51 (1846) pp. 535–606, MGH AA IX = Chron. Min. I (1892) 341–499.

In regione Quadorum exercitu Antonini Imperatoris, siti oppresso, pluvia divinitus missa est; cum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina persequerentur, et plurimos eorum interficerent. Exstant litterae Marci Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim, Christianorum forte militum precationibus, impetrato imbre, discussam contestatur.

When the army of Emperor Antoninus was suffering from thirst in the land of the Quadi, the Divinity sent rain, while, on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians and slew most of them. There is extant a letter of Marcus Aurelius, a most serious emperor, in which it is witnessed that a drought in Germany was ended, perhaps by the prayers of Christian soldiers, a storm having been obtained.

Prosper Aquitanus (died in 455), in the service of Leo I, was a fanatical follower of Saint Augustine. In his theological works he popularized

Augustine's views; his works are sometimes only summaries of Augustine's works (e.g., *Expositio psalmorum*). Prosper also wrote a world chronicle, but his own work is only the sequence on the history between 412 and 455; the earlier parts until 378 are from Jerome and then he followed Orosius and Sulpicius. Thus, this passage is a word-for-word copy of Jerome's *Chronicon* with a short omission: Hier. Chron. 206i. Cf. PWRE XXIII (1957) 880–897.

Literature: Zwikker 1941, 210.

17. *Chronica Gallica Chron. Min. I 641, 372*

6th century A.D.
Edition: Chronica Minora I (1882) 615–666.

372. *Pluviae a Christianis militibus impetratae pugnantibus contra Germanos.*

Christian soldiers fighting against the Germans obtained rain with their prayer.

Owing to Mommsen, the title *Chronica Gallica*, refers to the two versions of the *Chronicle* written in southern Gaul and the short document *Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae*. One of these covers history until A.D. 452, the other until A.D. 511. The *Chronicle*, however, follows Jerome with almost no alteration until A.D. 378, so the description of the rain miracle corresponds to its source. Its author is unknown; Prosper Tiro could hardly be contrary to earlier suppositions.

Literature: PWRE III (1899) 2460, QLQFM IV, 336–340, 545–548, Nr. 128.

18. *Alexander Monachus Inventio crucis pp. 4045–4048*

6th century A.D.
Edition: PG 87/3 (1857–1866) pp. 4016–4076.

Σημεῖα δὲ μεγάλα ἐγίνετο, ὥστε αὐτὸν τὸν Καίσαρα Μάρκον, σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι αὐτοῦ, σπάνει ὕδατος μέλλοντα διαφθείρεσθαι, τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχῇ περισωθῆναι, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ἀνύδροις τόποις ἀποστείλαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν ὑετόν.

Great miracles happened; as Emperor Marcus and his army were saved by the prayer of Christians when they were almost dying of thirst. The Divinity sent them rain in a dry region.

The author of this passage may be the monk Alexander of Cyprus (around Salamis), who lived and worked in the 6th century. From his works, the *Laudatio Barnabae apostoli* is well-known, which may have been written when the apostle's grave was found during the reign of Emperor Zeno. A work on finding the Holy Cross can also be attributed to him which is—at the same time—a world history from the creation of the world until the age of Constantine I; it ends with the glorification of the cross. This passage tells the Christian version of the rain miracle briefly, but in the author's own words. It is important that the lightning motif cannot be found here, therefore the story does not follow Eusebius.

Literature: J. W. Nesbitt, Alexander the Monk's Text of Helena's Discovery of the Cross (BHG 410). In: J. W. Nesbitt (ed.), Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations. Leiden 2003, 23–39, id., Some Observations on Jakob Gretser's edition of Alexander the Monk's De inventione sanctae crucis (BHG 410; CPG 7398). In: Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday/Etudes de Patristique Grecque et Textes Byzantins Offerts. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 137. Leuven 2005, 475–486, id.-R. Scott, Alexander Monachus, De venerandae crucis inventione. BHG 410 Series Graeca. Leuven (forthcoming).

19. *Fredegarius Scholasticus Chron. II.37*

Middle of the 7th century A.D.
Edition: MGH SM II (1888), pp. 62–63.

Emperatur Antunius multis adversum se nascentibus bellis sepe ipse intererat, sepe ducis nobelissimus destinabat. Semel Pertenaci exercito cum eo in Godorum regione sete oppressus, pluvia devenitus missa est, cum e contrario Germanus et Sarmatus persequerentur. Christianus milites fortiter depraecantis ad extinguendum illorum sete haec fuisset prestitum.

The Emperor Antonius [sic!] participated personally in many of the wars that arose against him; sometimes he appointed very noble commanders. Among them, a rainstorm of the Divinity was once sent for

Pertinax and his army while he was fighting for the emperor in the land of the Goths and was oppressed with thirst; on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians and slew most of them. It is also witnessed that Christian soldiers persistently prayed to end the thirst.

The *World Chronicle* attributed to Fredegarius Scholasticus is one of the earliest Frankish chronicles besides Gregorius Turonensis; it covers world history from the creation until A.D. 642 in four books, with special emphasis on the Franks. This work, one of the chief sources for the history of the 7th century, was probably finished before 685–660. Despite the text corruptions and the quite poor Latin, it presents the story of the rain miracle based entirely on the text of Jerome. It is noteworthy to observe the transfer of the venue of the event to the territory of the Goths and the peculiar simplification of the last sentence.

Literature: B. Krusch, MGH SM II (1888) pp. 1–18, Lexikon des Mittelalters IV (1988) 884.

20. *Chronicon Paschale I p. 486 (Dindorf)*

First part of the 7th century, after 628
Edition: Ed. L. Dindorf, Chronicon Paschale I–II. CSHB. Bonn 1832.

Ἀντωνῖνος αὐτοκράτωρ πυκνῶς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέκειτο, αὐτός τε παρὼν καὶ τοὺς πολεμάρχας ἀποστέλλων. καὶ Περτίνακι καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ δίψει πιεζομένοις ὄμβρος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῖς ἀντιτασσομένοις Γερμανικοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις σκηπτὸς ἔπεσεν, πολλούς τε αὐτῶν διέφθειρεν. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ φέρονται Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν αἷς μαρτυρεῖ μέλλοντα τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς διασεσῶσθαι.

The Emperor Antoninus participated personally in many of the wars that arose against him; sometimes he appointed commanders. A rainstorm of the Divinity was once sent for Pertinax and his army while he was oppressed with thirst; on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians and slew most of them. It is also said that there is a letter of Marcus Aurelius in which he testifies that his army, being on the point of perishing from thirst, was saved by the prayers of the Christian soldiers.

The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (or *Alexandrinum* or *Constantinopolitanum*) dealt with history from the creation of the world (21 March 5507) until A.D. 627 (originally until 628). The unknown author was close to patriarch Sergios' circle; the work was written not long after A.D. 628. The title was given because of the reflections in the preface on calculating the Paschal cycle. Besides the Holy Scripture, the consular Fasti, and the Easter charts, the data on early events stem from the chronicles of Sex. Iulius Africanus and Eusebius. This passage practically copied Eusebius' *Chronicle*, as becomes evident by comparing it to the Armenian translation of Eusebius and the Latin translation of Jerome: Euseb. Chron. 222.1 (Karst) = Hier. Chron. 206i. Cf. Krumbacher 1897, 337–399, Moravcsik 1958, 241–243, Chronicon Paschale A.D. 284–628, translated with notes and introduction by Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby. Liverpool 1989.

Literature: Domaszewski 1895, 123, Anm. 1, Zwikker 1941, 211, Klein 1989, 126, Wolff 1990, 11–12, Anm. 17.

21. *Pseudo-Dionysius Chronica. CSCO 104. SS 43 (1927) p. 127, 8–18*

8th century A.D.
Edition: CSCO 104. SS 43 (1927).
In the Latin translation of J.-B. Chabot:

Anno 2188°, Antoninus perpetuo intentus erat ut cum hostibus dimicaret, sive ipse adesset sive duces belli mitteret. Cum autem Pertinax et qui cum eo erant apud Quados siti vexarentur, imber de caelo illis contigit, dum in Germanos et in Sarmatas, qui contra eos stabant, fulmen cecidit et plures ex illis destruxit. Dicunt quoque litteras Marci regis exstare quibus testatus sit quod, cum iam siti periturus esset exercitus suus, precibus Christianorum servatus est, imbre de caelo immisso.

In the year 2188 Antoninus was ready to wage war; sometimes he participated personally, sometimes he appointed commanders. When Pertinax and his army were oppressed with thirst rain came down from the sky; on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians and slew most of them. It is also said that a letter is extant of Marcus, the emperor, in which he testifies that his army, being on the point of perishing from thirst, was saved by the prayers of the Christian soldiers because rain came down from the sky.

The chronicle that has come down to us under the name of the Syriac Patriarch Dionysius (818–845) is an earlier compilation that was written in the 770s; it extends from the creation of the world down to its own age. It had to have followed Eusebius' *Chronicon*, since Pertinax appears in it. It is an important fact that—similarly to the Armenian translation of Eusebius' work—the author of the chronicle dated the rain miracle to the 2188th year, i.e., to A.D. 172. This source has not previously been taken into consideration during discussions of the rain miracle.

Cf. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 121. SS 66 (1949), 95, W. Witakowski, The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre. A study in the history of historiography. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensia. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 9. Uppsala 1987, Brecht 1999, 54–55, FPA I, p. 229.

22. *Georgius Syncellus Ecloga chronographica p. 431,3–6*

9th century A.D.
Edition: Georgius Syncellus, Ecloga chronographica. Ed. A. A. Mosshammer. Leipzig 1984, 1–478.

Ταῖς Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς δίψει διαφθείρεσθαι μέλλων ἐν Κουάδοις περισῴζεται θεοῦ ὕσαντος καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας σκηπτῷ διαφθείραντος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀντωνῖνος ἐπιστέλλων μαρτυρεῖ. Περτίναξ ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατοῦ.

When the Roman army was in extreme in peril because of thirst in the land of the Quadi it was saved by the prayers of the Christians because God sent rain and thunderbolts fell upon the enemy, the Germans and Sarmatians, as Antoninus himself testifies in his letter. The army was commanded by Pertinax.

A secretary (*syncellus*) of the Byzantine monk Patriarch Tarasius (deceased in A.D. 810), Georgius Syncellus wrote his interupted chronographic work from the creation of the world, but only until A.D. 284, following primarily Iulianus Africanus. His work was continued by Theophanes Confessor. In this work he mentions the rain miracle presenting the version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (based on mentioning the Quadi). The other, an even more obvious possibility, is that he knew this version from the original work of Iulianus Africanus. If this is true, the origin of the version with Pertinax is clear. The passage is important, because the author presents a version of the *Chronicon* and mentions the name of Pertinax at the end of the chapter.

Literature: W. Adler, Time immemorial: archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus. Washington 1989, Brecht 1999, 51, W. Adler-P. Tuffin, The chronography of George Synkellos: a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the creation. Oxford 2002.

23. *Georgius Monachus Chronicon breve I.138. PG 110, p. 529, 37–42, 532, 1–3*

9th century A.D.
Edition: PG 110, pp. 41–1260.

Πολεμοῦντος (αὐτοῦ ποτε) Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας, δίψει τῆς στρατιᾶς πιεζομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνευούσης, τοὺς ἐπὶ [τῆς] Μελιτινῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας, δι' εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς Θεὸν γενομένης, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραμυθήσασθαι. Ὅπερ (ὥς φασι) σφοδρῶς καταπλῆξαν τὸν Μάρκον, γράφει τιμᾶσθαι Χριστιανοὺς, τὴν δὲ λεγεῶνα Κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι.

When he (sc. Marcus Aurelius) waged war against the Germans and the Sarmatians, his army was in extreme danger because of thirst; in consequence of the persistent prayers of Christian soldiers of the legion of Melitene thunderbolts fell upon the enemy; on the other hand, the Romans were refreshed by rain. It is also said that Marcus was shocked at this event and ordered that the Christians had to be respected and the legion received the title "thundering".

The short historical work of this monk, who wrote during the reign of Michael III (842–867), covers the period from Adam until A.D. 842 (until 867, according to its original aim). His chief sources were Malalas and Theophanes, but the lost work (the Epitome) of an unknown author served as a source for the events of imperial times (see below): de Boor 1892, Moravcsik 1958, 277–280, Brecht 1999, 52. The source of this passage was the most important source for several later authors; they copied it practically verbatim. Cf. Symeon Log. 70.1, Cedr. 439.15–22, Eccl. Hist. 285,8–15, Synopsis Sathas (Theod. Scutariotes) p. 32,9–17.

Literature: Aerts 1990, 122.

24. *Symeon Logothetes (also known as Leo Grammaticus) 70.1*

10th century A.D.
Edition: Leonis Grammatici Chronographia ed. I. Bekker. CSHB. Bonn 1842, J. A. Cramer (ed.), Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis II. Oxford 1839 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 165–381.

πολεμοῦντος Μάρκου Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας, δίψει τῆς στρατιᾶς πιεζομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνευούσης, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτινῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας, δι' εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς θεὸν γενομένης, ἱστορεῖται τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραμυθήσασθαι ὅπερ, ὥς φασι, σφοδρῶς καταπλῆξαν τὸν Μάρκον, γράφει τιμῆσαι Χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ λεγεῶνα κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι.

When he (sc. Marcus Aurelius) waged war against the Germans and the Sarmatians, his army was in extreme danger because of thirst; it is attested that in consequence of the persistent prayers of Christian soldiers of the legion of Melitene thunderbolts fell upon the enemy; on the other hand, the Romans were refreshed by rain. It is also said that Marcus was shocked at this event and ordered that the Christians had to be respected and the legion received the title "thundering".

The world chronicle (the *Epitome*, as it is widely known) that has come down to us under the names of Symeon and Leo covers the period from the creation of the world until A.D. 948. However, the real author of the work is unknown; these authors (and Theodosius Melitenus) wrote only continuations of the chronicle, which underwent several redactions. Its chief source was a lost work (whose author might have been Trajan Patricius) that extended until the age of Justinian II (A.D. 713). Its source was the so-called "Leoquelle" and its author can probably be identified as Petrus Patricius/Anonymus post Dionem: de Boor 1892, E. Patzig, Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe. BZ 3, 1894, 470–497, Moravcsik 1958, 515–518, Bleckmann 1992, Brecht 1999, 52, 56–58. The source of the rain miracle is Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (V.5). This work (or its source) on the story of the rain miracle was the main source of later authors, who copied it practically verbatim: cf. Cedr. 439.15–22, Georg. Mon. Chron. breve I.138, Eccl. Hist. 285,8–15, Synopsis Sathas (Theod. Scutariotes) p. 32, 9–17.

Literature: Praechter 1905, 257, Anm. 1, Aerts 1990, 122.

25. *Suda A 3987*

Second half of the 10th century A.D.
Edition: Ed. A. Adler, Suidae lexicon I–IV. Lexicographi Graeci 1.1–1.4. Leipzig 1928–1935 (repr. Stuttgart 1967–1971).

Ἄρνουφις οὗτος Αἰγύπτιος ἦν φιλόσοφος, ὃς συνὼν Μάρκῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, δίψει ποτὲ καμνόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαίφνης ποιῆσαι νέφη τε ἀγερθῆναι ζοφώδη καὶ ὄμβρον ἀφεῖναι λάβρον ἅμα βρονταῖς τε καὶ σέλασιν ἐπαλλήλοις. καὶ τοῦτο σοφίᾳ τινὶ ἐργάσασθαι Ἄρνουφιν. οἱ δέ φασιν Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Χαλδαῖον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸ θαυμάσιον.

This man was an Egyptian philosopher, who joined Marcus [Aurelius], the emperor of the Romans, the philosopher. On one occasion, when the Romans were suffering from thirst, [the story goes that Arnouphis] suddenly created and summoned up dark-coloured clouds and let loose heavy rain along with thunder and lightning bolts one after another. And this [they say that] by some cleverness Arnouphis achieved. But others assert that it was Julian the Chaldean who made this miracle (translation of J. Benedict).[71]

Based on the word-for-word copies (e.g., συνὼν Μάρκῳ), not only the story but also the description are from Dio's work. Cf. Dio LXXI.8.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 873, Mommsen 1895, 103, Berwig 1970, 147–148, Fowden 1987, 87–89, Klein 1989, 123–124, 129, Anm. 38, Perea Yébenes 2002, 51.

26. *Suda I 334*

Second half of the 10th century A.D.

Ἰουλιανός, ὁ τοῦ προλεχθέντος υἱός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς Θεουργικά, Τελεστικά, Λόγια δι' ἐπῶνρ καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης κρύφια τυγχάνουσιν. ὅτι τοῦτόν φασὶ δίψει ποτὲ καμνόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐξαίφνης ποιῆσαι νέφη τε ἀγερθῆναι ζοφώδη καὶ ὄμβρον ἀφεῖναι λάβρον ἅμα βρονταῖς τε

[71] The Suda On Line: www.stoa.org/sol/.

καὶ σέλασιν ἐπαλλήλοις καὶ τοῦτο σοφίᾳ τινὶ ἐργάσασθαι Ἰουλιανόν. οἱ δέ φασιν Ἄρνουφιν, τὸν Αἰγύπτιον φιλόσοφον, τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸ θαυμάσιον.

The son of the above-mentioned [Julian] flourished under the emperor of Marcus Antoninus. He too wrote Theurgica, Telestica, and oracles in epic verse, and other books dealing with that occult science. They say about him that once, when the Romans were exhausted by thirst, he suddenly caused dark clouds to gather and discharge torrential rain with incessant thunder and lightning; and that Julian worked with this (miracle) by some (secret) wisdom. But others say that Arnouphis, the Egyptian philosopher, worked this wonder (translation of G. Fowden).[72]

Cf. Suda A 3987. I will deal with this passage in a separate chapter.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 79, Anm. 1, Schwendemann 1923, 59, Anm. 4, Berwig 1970, 121, Anm. 5, Rubin 1979, 366, Fowden 1987, 90–94, Klein 1989, 129, Anm. 38, Wolff 1989, 28.

27. *Landolfus Sagax Additamenta ad Pauli Hist. Rom. VIII.144 p. 314*

Around A.D. 1000.
Edition: MGH AA 2 (1879) 227–376.

Et in Quadorum usque fines progressus exercitus circumventusque ab hostibus, propter aquarum penuriam presentium sitis quam hostis periculum sustineret, ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito magna fidei constantia quidam milites effusi in preces palam fecerunt, tanta vi pluviae effusa est, ut Romanos quidem largissime ac sine iniuria refecerit, barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus perterritos, presertim cum plurimi eorum occiderentur, in fugam coegerit; quorum terga Romani usque ad internicionem cedentes gloriosissimam victoriam et omnibus pene antiquorum titulis preferendam rudi parvoque militum numero sed potentissimo Christi auxilio reportarunt. igitur multa hominum milia interfectis ac Pannoniis.

...and the Roman army had advanced up to the territory of the Quadi and were surrounded by the enemy, it would have sustained more immediate danger from thirst on account of the scarcity of water than from the enemy; and when certain soldiers proceeded to call upon the

[72] Fowden 1987, 91.

name of Christ, which they did suddenly and publicly, giving forth their souls in prayer with great constancy of faith, so great a force of rain was poured forth that it most abundantly refreshed the Romans without doing them any harm, and forced the barbarians who were terrified by frequent strokes of lightning, especially since a great many of them were killed, into flight. The Romans, attacking the enemy in the rear and slaughtering them to a man with a small number of raw recruits but with the most powerful aid of Christ, brought back a most glorious victory, one superior to those known in the past. A letter of the emperor, Antoninus, is also said by some authors to exist today in which he acknowledges that, through the invocation of the name of Christ by the Christian soldiers, the thirst of the army was relieved and the victory granted. As many thousands of Barbarians were killed and the Pannonians were freed he (the emperor) held a triumph with his son, Commodus, whom he appointed Caesar (translation of R. J. Deferrari).

Landolfus Sagax, who lived around A.D. 1000, continued Eutropius' breviarium (until A.D. 364), and Paulus Diaconus' historical work (who continued Eutropius until A.D. 553) until A.D. 730, and added new data from other works. This passage copies Orosius' passage verbatim except for the last sentence.

Literature: Harnack 1984, 859, Anm. 2.

28. *Ioannes Xiphilinus 251, 22–24+260,6–262,5 = Dio LXXI.8–10*

Around A.D. 1070
See above Cassius Dio LXXI.8–10 and its translation.

Joannes Xiphilinus, a monk who lived in the 11th century, prepared an epitome of some of Cassius Dio's historical books (from book 36 [presenting the year 68 B.C. with Pompeius as the first ruler] to book 80) during the reign of Michael Dukas (1071–1078). After book 60, the original work can be reconstructed only based on his epitome. Book 70 on the the reign of Antoninus Pius and the first 10 years of Marcus' reign was not available to Xiphilinus; he used other sources. His method of preparing the epitome was not always consistent; he omitted substantial matters and sometimes added his own remarks to passages, mainly to those which presented events connected to

Christianity. He did this in LXXI.8–10, describing the rain miracle, where the whole of chapter 9 is Xiphilinus' commentary. Cf. Krumbacher 1897, 369–370, PWRE IXA (1967) 2132–2134, Millar 1964, 2.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 866–867, Perea Yébenes 2002, 105–106, 115, 128–129, 156.

29. *Georgius Cedrenus 439.15–22*

11th century A.D.
Edition: Georgius Cedrenus, Compendium Historiarum I–II. Ed. I. Bekker. CSHB. Bonn 1838–9.

πολεμοῦντος δὲ Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαρμάτας, δίψει τῆς στρατιᾶς πιεζομένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνευούσης, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος, Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας, δι' εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν γενομένης τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βληθῆναι, ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραμυθήσασθαι. ὅπερ σφοδρῶς καταπλῆξαν τὸν βασιλέα, γράφει τιμᾶν Χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ λεγεῶνα κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι.

When he (sc. Marcus Aurelius) waged war against the Germans and the Sarmatians, his army was in extreme peril because of thirst; in consequence of the persistent prayers of Christian soldiers of the legion of Melitene thunderbolts fell upon the enemy; on the other hand, the Romans were refreshed by rain. It is also said that Marcus was shocked at this event and ordered that the Christians had to be respected and the legion received the title thundering.

Almost nothing is known about this author; his work (*Synopsis historion*) covers history from the creation of the world until A.D. 1057. The work itself is the compilation of previous works; its main source (a chronicle from the 9th century) is the work of an unknown author (referred to as Pseudo-Symeon). The source of this chronicle was the historical work of Theophanes: de Boor 1892, Moravcsik 1958, 273–276, Brecht 1999, 52–53. This passage follows Georgius Monachus' Χρονικὸν Σύντομος verbatim.

Cf. Georg. Mon. Chron. breve I.138, Symeon Log. 70.1, Eccl. Hist. 285, 8–15, Synopsis Sathas (Theod. Scutariotes) p. 32, 9–17.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 80, Harnack 1894, 858, Anm. 2, Petersen 1895, 456, Anm. 1, Petersen 1895, 456, Anm. 1, Aerts 1990, 122.

30. *Psellus Histora Syntomos 32, 267^r, 55–64, pp. 20–22 (MS Sinaiticus 1117 (482))*

Before A.D. 1078
Edition: Historia syntomos. Recensuit, Anglice vertit et commentario instruxit W. J. Aerts. Editio princeps. Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae; Series Berolinensis 30. Berlin 1990.

Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος. Κρᾶμα πασῶν ἀρετῶν Μάρκος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἶος οὐκ ἄλλος, οὔτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγενομένων. Ην μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφίας πλήρης, γενναῖος δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ εἰρηνικώτατος μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, πολεμικώτατος δὲ, εἴπερ τούτου δεήσειεν. Ἀμέλει τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας καὶ γένη ἕτερα πολέμοις μακροῖς ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ὑποφόρους τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποίηκε. Καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δὴ ὅσιος ὢν εἰκὸς Ἕλληνι, ὄμβρον τε δι' εὔχης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατήνεγκε διψῶσι τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους κεραυνοῖς ἐξαπιναίως ἀπώσατο.

Marcus Antoninus. The emperor Marcus was such a mixture of virtues as was met neither of the emperors before him nor after him. He was a vessel of wisdom, but also noble-hearted and peace-loving as no other; if required, however, he was a formidable warrior too. At any rate he subdued the Germans, the Sauromates and other tribes in lasting wars and made them tributary to Rome. His relation to God was of a devout nature considering his paganism: he once prayed the rain out of heaven for his thirsty soldiers and he kept off the enemies with sudden lightnings (translation of W. J. Aerts).[73]

A critical edition of Psellus' (ca. 1018–1078) historical work has recently been published. Contrary to the much better-known *Chronographia*, his work extends only from the foundation of Rome until the reign of Basil II (976–1025), with whom his *Chronographia* begins. His source from the imperial period was the work of Cassius Dio, chiefly his epitomes (Aerts 1990, pp. XXIII–XXV). In Aerts' opinion, the person of the author

[73] Aerts 1990, 21–23.

is dubious. This passage, briefly showing the reign of Marcus Aurelius, is certainly not from Dio. This passage is especially important since, similarly to Georgius Acropolites' description, it presents the pagan version of the rain miracle based on Themistius; the invoker of the miracle is Marcus Aurelius. His data did not stem from Georgius (lived in the 13th century); moreover, this Georgius told the story with Titus by mistake. This passage is also important since here the invoker of the miracle is not Julian Theurgist, about whom he tells a miraculous story elsewhere.

Literature: Fowden 1987, 92, n. 44, Aerts, op. cit., 122–123.

31. *Marianus Scottus Chronica clara III.181–183*

12th century A.D.
Edition: PL 147 (1853) 623–802.

181. 13. *Severus et Pompeianus. Imperator Antonius multis adversum se nascentibus bellis sepe ipse intererat, sepe duces nobilissimos destinabat.*

182. 14. *Gallus et Flaccus. In quibus semel Pertinaci et exercitui, qui cum eo in Quadorum regione pugnabat, siti oppressis, pluvia divinitus missa est; cum e contrario Germanos et Sarmatas fulmina persequeretur et plurimos eorum interficerent.*

183. 15. *Pisso et Julianus. Extant litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbrii discussam contestatur.*

In the year of the consulship of Severus and Pompeianus. The Emperor Antoninus personally participated in many of the wars that arose against him; sometimes he appointed very noble commanders.

In the year of the consulship of Gallus and Flaccus. Among them was Pertinax, too. When he and his army were fighting in the land of the Quadi and were oppressed with thirst, God sent a rainstorm for them; on the other hand, thunderbolts fell upon the Germans and Sarmatians and slew most of them because of the prayers of the Christian soldiers.

In the year of the consulship of Piso and Iulianus. A letter of Marcus Aurelius, a most serious emperor, is extant in which it is witnessed that a drought in Germany was finished, perhaps by the prayers of the Christian soldiers having obtained rain.

Marianus Scottus composed a world chronicle in three books, presenting events until his own age, A.D. 1095 (later extending it until 1097; someone else continued his work until 1104). He copied the description of the rain miracle from Jerome without any alteration. Interestingly enough, he discusses the events that originally happened in one year divided into three years.

Literature: A.D. v. d. Bincken, Marianus Scottus, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der nicht veröffentlichten Teile seiner Chronik. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 17, 1961, 191–238, ead., Marianus Scottus als Universalhistoriker iuxta veritatem Evangelii. in: Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter II. Stuttgart 1982, 1000–1007, Lexikon des Mittelalters VI (1992) 285.

32. *Hugo Flaviacensis Chronicon PL 154, 39*

Before A.D. 1114
Edition: PL 154, 21–404, MGH SS VIII, 288–503.

Nam cum insurrexissent in Romanos gentes barbarae innumerabili multitudine, id est Marcomanni, Quadi, Wandali, Sarmatae, Suevi et omnis pene Germania, et in Quadorum usque fines progressus Romanus exercitus propter aquarum penuriam gravius sitis quam hostis sustineret periculum, ad invocationem nominis Christi, quam subito milites magna fidei constantia fecerunt, tanta vis pluviarum erupit, ut Romanos largissime refecerit et barbaros crebris fulminum ictibus territos in fugam converterit. Quorum terga cedentes, incruentam victoriam potenti Christi meruere auxilio.

When innumerable barbarians, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Suebi and almost the whole of Germany rose up against the Romans and the Roman army, campaigning in the land of the Quadi, was in extreme peril, more because of the lack of water than because of the enemy. As the name of Christ was invoked for help, to whom some firmly believing soldiers prayed openly, such heavy rain came down that the Romans were refreshed without any harm, but the barbarians were terrified of the frequent thunderbolts and fled because they slew most of them. The Romans chased them and with the help of Christ gained a bloody victory.

Hugo of Flavigny (1065–1114) composed a chronicle from the birth of Christ until A.D. 1102 in two volumes in which he copied the description of the rain miracle almost verbatim from Orosius.

Literature: R. Köpke, Die Quellen der Chronik des Hugo. Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde 9, 1847, 240–292, Lexikon des Mittelalters V (1990) 171.

33. *Excerptiones allegoricae VII.4. PL 177, 249*

12th century A.D.
Edition: PL 177 (1854) 193–284.

His denique diebus Marcomani, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, et omnes pene Germaniae populi Quadorum finibus exercitum Romanum circumvallaverunt. Coarctatus igitur Romanus exercitus siti et hostis periculo in preces effusus, ad invocationem nominis Christi tantum inde pluviae obtinuit, ut largissime reficeretur. Barbari vero fulminum ictibus perterriti, in fugam versi sunt.

In those days, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Vandals, the Sarmatians, the Suebi, and almost the whole of Germany surrounded the Romans in the land of the Quadi. The Roman army began to pray, as they were in extreme peril because of the enemy and the lack of water. As Christ was invoked for help heavy rain poured down and the whole army was refreshed. On the other hand, the barbarians were terrified of the thunderbolts and fled.

This work, which aims at summarising all of human history (chiefly based on Biblical texts), consists of 24 books; the compiler is uncertain. In the first part of the work, the author collected extracts from earlier historiographers in thematic and chronological order. He discusses history from the creation of the world to the age of the successors of Charles III, the Simple, (898–923) and from then until the reign of Phillippe (1060–1108). This passage is a free adaptation of Orosius' text with some omissions.

34. *Joannes Zonaras XII.2*

First half of the 12th century A.D.
Edition: Epitome historiarum (lib. 1–12). Ed. L. Dindorf, Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum I–III. 1868–1870.

Μαρκομάννους μὲν οὖν καὶ 'Ιάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὗτος ὑπέταξερ πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ βαρὺς συγκεκρότητο, καὶ νίκην παράδοξον αὐτῷ τὸ

θεῖον παρέσχετο. κύκλῳ γὰρ τῶν Κουάδων τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περισχόντων συνασπίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καρτερῶς ἀντημύνοντο οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπέσχοντο μὲν τοῦ μάχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πέριξ ἀπέφραξαν, ὥστε μήποθεν αὐτοὺς ὑδρεύσασθαι δύνασθαι, οἰόμενοι ῥᾷον αὐτῶν περιγενέσθαι, μὴ οἵων τε ἐσομένων πρὸς δίψαν ἀντέχειν καὶ καύσωνα. τῶν οὖν Ῥωμαίων καὶ καμάτῳ κακουμένων καὶ καύματι καὶ δίψει καὶ τραύμασιν, νέφη ἀθρόον τὸν ἀέρα περιέσχον ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ὗσέ γε πλεῖστα, οὐχ ὡς ὁ Δίων ἱστόρησεν, Αἰγυπτίου μάγου τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐπικαλεσαμένου καὶ γοητείαις δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὑετὸν δυνηθέντος ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θείου χριστιανῶν παρακληθέντος ἐντεύξεσι καὶ ῥυσαμένου τότε κἀκείνους παραδοξοποιίᾳ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα. ἦν γάρ τις ἐν τῇ τότε Ῥωμαικῇ στρατιᾷ λεγεών, οἳ πάντες ἦσαν χριστιανοί. ἀμηχανοῦντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ δεδοικότι περὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι λόγος ἐστὶ φάναι τὸν ἔπαρχον τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ μὴ δύναται τὸ γένος τῶν καλουμένων χριστιανῶν εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνδρῶν τοιούτων τάγμα ὁλόκληρον. τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα δεηθῆναι τούτων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν οἰκεῖον θεόν. κἀκείνων εὐξαμένων κεραυνῷ μὲν βληθῆναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὄμβρον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καταρραγῆναι. οἷς ἐκπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον τιμῆσαι μὲν τοὺς χριστιανοὺς δόγματι, κεραυνοβόλον δ' ἐκεῖνο καλέσαι τὸ σύνταγμα. καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὕτως ὁ λεγεὼν ἐκεῖνος ἐκλήθη καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δίωνι ὡμολόγηται, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν οὐ προστιθέασι. μέμνηται δὲ τῆς παραδοξοποιίας ταύτης ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος. ὅ γε μὴν Δίων φησὶν ὅτι τοῦ ὄμβρου γινομένου οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τὸ πίνειν ἀσχοληθέντες ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀπολώλεισαν ἄν, τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτιθεμένων τότε αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ χάλαζα κατερράγη σφοδρὰ καὶ κεραυνοῖς πολλοῖς ἐβάλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι.

This emperor subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. There was a heavy war against the Quadi, but an unexpected victory was given him by Heaven. When the Quadi surrounded the Romans they firmly resisted in battle array. The barbarians ceased fighting and posted guards all around and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere, expecting to capture them easily as a result of the heat and their thirst. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain burst upon them. It was not invoked by the Egyptian magician with his enchantments who invoked Hermes for help, as Dio says, but

as the God of the Christians was invoked for help he defended them and the whole army with a miracle. There was a legion in the army whose soldiers were all Christians. When Marcus found himself at a loss as to what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who were called Christians could accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that there chanced to be a whole division of this sect in the army. Marcus, on hearing this, appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, He smote the enemy with thunderbolts and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians with an official decree but also named the division the thundering legion. But the Greeks, including Dio, though they bear witness that the division was called thus, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name. The miracle was also described by Eusebius in his *Church History*. Dio goes on to say that when the rain poured down and the barbarians charged upon the drinking Romans and they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset had not a violent hail storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe.

Zonaras lived in the first half of the 12th century; he held high offices at court. His historical work (*Epitome hist.*) extends from the creation of the world to the death of Alexius (A.D. 1118). The first 12 books cover history until the age of Constantine I. He followed Cassius Dio and his epitomes (Ioan. Xiphilinus) just like this passage: Cf. U. P. Boissevain, 'Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander. Hermes 26, 1891, 440–452. Cassius Dio's first 20 books (from Aeneas' arrival in Italy until 146 B.C.) are known only from Zonaras' adaptation (books VII–IX). The methods of Dio, Xiphilinus, and Zonaras can be studied uniquely in these books that have come down to us from all three authors (Dio XLIV.3–LX, Zonaras X.12–XI.8, Xiphilinus: 31,1–141,29): e.g. book LIV: Millar 1964, 195–203. Cf. Krumbacher 1897, 370–376, PWRE XA (1972) 718–732, Moravcsik 1958, 344–348, Millar 1964, 2–3, Moravcsik 1988, 98–101.

Literature: Petersen 1894, 80, Berwig 1970, 133.

35. *Georgius Acropolites Epitaphius in Ioannem Ducam 15*

A.D. 1254
Edition: Ed. A. Heisenberg, Georgii Acropolitae opera. 2. Leipzig 1903 (repr. Stuttgart 1978 (corr. P. Wirth)) 12–29.

θαυμάζεται μὲν Τῖτος ὁ καῖσαρ ὅτιπερ ἐν καιρῷ αὐχμοῦ παρόντος ἅπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν ‛αἰδέσθητι ταύτας’ λέξας ‛θεέ, αἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσαν αἷμα ἀνθρώπειον, καὶ πέμψον ὑετὸν ἐπὶ γῆς’, καὶ παραυτά φασιν ὗσαι ῥαγδαῖον ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

The Emperor Titus is also admired because when he was campaigning with his whole army during a drought he dismounted, lifted his hands up toward heaven, and said: "God, look at my hands that are not stained with blood and send rain to the earth." It is said that immediately heavy rain poured down.

Georgius Acropolites (1217–1282) performed educational and diplomatic service in Michael Palaeologus' court. Beside his poems, rhetorical, and theological works, he is famous mainly for his historical works, which are a continuation of Nicetas Choniates (for the years 1203–1261). This work is the burial speech of Emperor Joannes Ducas, deceased in 1254: Krumbacher 1897, 286–288, Moravcsik 1958, 266–267, Moravcsik 1988, 297–301, George Acropolites, The history. Translated with an introduction and commentary by Ruth Macrides. Oxford 2007. This passage, as K. Praechter has clearly demonstrated, reveals word-for-word agreements with Themistius' oration XV. The author, who might have worked based on his memories, however, presented Titus as the key figure in the events.

Literature: Praechter 1905.

36. *Synopsis Sathas (Theod. Scutariotes) p. 32,9–17*

Second half of the 13th century A.D.
Edition: Synopsis Chronike. Ed. by C. N. Sathas. Paris-Venedig 1894 (repr. Hildesheim-New York 1972).

Οὗτος δίψει τῆς στρατιᾶς πιεζομένης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαρμάτας πολέμῳ εὐχῇ χρήσασθαι ἀξιώσας τοὺς ἀπὸ Μελιτινῆς λεγεῶνος Χριστιανοὺς τῆς αἰτήσεως ἔτυχεν, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται τοὺς μὲν

πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βληθῆναι ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ρωμαίους παραμυθίαν εὑρεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ θαυμάσας πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον τὰ γεγονότα γράμμασι διεσήμανε, καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς τιμᾷν.

He (sc. Marcus) appealed to the Christian soldiers of the legion of Melitene to pray to their God when his army was suffereding from thirst during the war against the Germans and Sarmatians. It is said that the prayer was effective; thunderbolts fell upon the enemy; on the other hand, the Romans were refreshed by the rain. Marcus was shocked at this event and wrote a letter to the senate in which he reported what had happened and ordered that the Christians had to be respected.

The chronicle, discovered by C. N. Sathas at the end of the 19th century, can probably be attributed to Theodorus Scutariotes, who belonged to the circle of Theodorus Laskaris II (1254–1258). Later he was elected bishop of Cyzicus and participated in the negotiations on reuniting the Catholic and Orthodox churches, because of which Andronicus Pal. II (1282–1328) ousted him. The chronicle records history from the creation to A.D. 1261. He based his work on various sources, chiefly following Malalas, Georgius Cont., and Georgius Cedrenus until 1118: Cf. Krumbacher 1897, 398–390, Moravcsik 1958, 526–528, Moravcsik 1988, 301–316, Brecht 1999, 54, 60–61. This locus follows Georgius Monachus' Χρονικὸν Σύντομος almost word-for-word. Cf. Georg. Mon. Chron. breve I.138, Symeon Log. 70.1, Cedr. 439.15–22, Eccl. Hist. 285, 8–15.

Literature: Praechter 1905, 257, Anm. 1.

37. *Acta Polyeucti Acta SS. Febr. II. pp. 650–651*

Date:?

Cum ipse talis foret et genus illinc duceret eiusdemque esset sodalitatis illustrium inquam et omnibus fide Christum conspicuorum, qui sequebantur Marcum Imperatorem adversus barbaros bellum gerentem. Laborabat aquae penuria exercitus Romanorum atque anxius admodum erat imperator, quod et hostes valde praevalerent et nostros inter cetera sitis affligeret. Tum Christi milites, et hi conserendae pugnae pares, qui eandem legionem in qua et hic venerandus martyr complebant, separati et procul ab exercitu remoti manus sanctas ad deum tollunt piamque fidem, quam colebant, ferventissime proponunt. Implorabant autem dei clementiam, ut benignis eos oculis adspiceret et hac necessitate, quae opprimebat multitudinem, liberaret. Qui ita precati, suis votis non sunt fraudati. Nondum enim precibus finem imposuerunt,

quando et densa nubes coelum subiens aerem implevit tonitru et fulgura elisa micebant, et magna erupit pluvia, adeo ut dum sic ferrentur fulmina et imbres, recreati quidem sint Christiani, at plurimi barbari interierint; et legio nomine conveniente sit nuncupata κεραυνοβόλος *i.e. fulminis iaculatrix, huc usque ex hac tanti miraculi efficentia cognita.*

Polyeuctus was such a person and he came from those who always kept their eyes on Christ. They followed the Emperor Marcus waging [war] aginst the barbarians. The Romans were suffering from thirst and even the emperor himself worried about the strong enemy and our army was suffering from thirst besides other things. Then the soldiers of Christ, who were also excellent in battle and served in the same legion as this venerable martyr, proceeded, and far from the army they lifted up their pious hands toward heaven and God and they ardently confessed their faith. They prayed for divine mercy and that God would look benevolently on them and liberate the multitude from vicissitude. They prayed for this and they were not deluded. They had not finished the prayer when dark clouds gathered with lightning and heavy rain came down. Such a heavy storm broke out that many thunderbolts and much rain fell and the Christians were refreshed, but most of the barbarians were killed. Later the legion was rightly called κεραυνοβόλος, i.e., thundering, because the result of this great miracle became widely known.

Polyeuctus died a martyr as a soldier of the *legio XII fulminata*. This locus on the rain miracle has come down to us in the Latin version of the martyr act. Since this passage is missing from the Greek and Armenian versions of the act, the supposition that it was added later seems justified, strengthened by the fact that the description resembles those of Gregorios, Eusebius, and Dio. However, the date cannot be established beyond doubt.

Literature: Harnack 1894, 861, Anm. 2, Berwig 1970, 134, Anm. 2, Perea Yébenes 2002, 65–66.

38. *Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccl. IV.12. PG 145, p. 1004, 298 B-D*

Before A.D. 1317
Edition: PG 145 (1965) 549–1332

ἕτερα πλεῖστα γράφει δὲ πρὸς τούτοις Ἀπολογίαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ᾗ παρατίθησιν ὡς ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου ἐν

Γερμανίᾳ καὶ Σαρμάταις μάχαις παραττόμενον δίψει πιεζομένης τῆς στρατίας ἀν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι τὴν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας λεγεῶνος παράταξιν, γόνυ κλίνασαν, ὡς ἔθος ἡμῖν, εἰς εὐχὴν τραπέσθαι καὶ δυσωπεῖν τὸν Θεόν. Ὅ δὴ ξένον καὶ ἀήθες τοῖς πολεμίοις φανὲν ἐκπλήκτον ἦν. Ὅυτω δ' ἔχουσιν ἕτερον παραδοξότερον ἐπιγίνεται σκηπτὸς γὰρ εἰσπεσὼν ἀθρόον, ἐκείνους μὲν εἰς φυγὴν ἤλαυνεν συχνὸς δ' ὄμβρος ἐπικαταῤῥαγεὶς, τὴν ὅσον οὔπω μέλλουσαν διαφθαρήσεσθαι στρατίαν τῇ δίψῃ εὐθὺς ἀνεκτᾶτο ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς ὡς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἱστορικοῖς ἀναγέγραπται οἷς μέλλον γέγονε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀναγράφειν. Οὐ μὴν ταῖς ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς ἐκεῖνοι τὸ παραδόξον ἀναγράφουσι πῶς γὰρ ἀνοικείως μάλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντες; ὅσοι δὲ γε ἡμέτεροι καὶ ἡμῖν φίλοι, ἁπλῷ καὶ ἀκηκοήθει τῷ τρόπῳ ἡμῖν τὰ πραχθὲν ἐπιγράφουσιν ὧν εἵς καὶ 'Απολλινάριος, ἱστορῶν τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκείνην λεγεῶνα ἐντάξαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐσαεὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ προηγεῖσθαι ἐκ πιστῶν συνεστηκυῖαν ἀνδρῶν ἤ καὶ τὴν κεραυνοβόλος προσηγορίαν ἐκ βασιλέως ἐκτήσατο. Ναὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Τερτυλλιανὸς ἀξιόχρεως ἄν εἴη τάδε περὶ τούτων διεξιών Μάρκου τοῦ συνετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεσθαι ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς μαρτυρέται ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ μέλλοντα τὸν στρατὸν διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς σεσῶσθαι. Τουτὸν δὲ φασιν καὶ θάνατον ἐπειλῆσαι τοῖς κατηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν…

Beside these he [Tertullian] addressed an apology to the Roman Senate for the faith and he added the following: during the reign of Marcus Antoninus, when he waged war against the Germans and the Sarmatians, the Roman army campaigning against them was in peril because of thirst. The soldiers of our legion knelt down and prayed to God as usual. The enemy was shocked at the strange and sudden spectacle. As they were standing a greater miracle happened; several lightning bolts fell and put the enemy to flight, and abundant rain came down, too, and it immediately refreshed the army, who had been on the point of perishing from thirst. This story is mentioned by other historians who were strangers to the faith and have been pleased to treat the times of the emperors. But it is not acknowledged as an answer to our prayers. How could they do this as they were our enemies? But the occurrence is related in a simple and artless manner by our own people and our friends. Among these is Apollinarius, who says that the emperor ordered that from that time on this legion, whose soldiers were Christians, would lead the army and it received from the emperor the title "thundering." Tertullian is a trustworthy witness of these things.

According to him there is still extant the letter of the most intelligent Emperor Marcus in which he testifies that his army, being on the point of perishing with thirst in Germany, was saved by the prayers of the Christians. And he also says that this emperor threatened death to those who brought accusations against us.

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulus (ca. 1256–1317) wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* until his own age; only the first 18 books (until A.D. 610) have been preserved. The passages on history until the 10th century may be the rewritten version of an unknown author from the 10th century which was mainly the compilation of earlier works on Church history: Moravcsik 1958, 459–460. The only manuscript is a Corvina kept in Vienna. (Hist. gr. 8): Csapodi Cs.—Csapodiné Gárdonyi K., Bibliotheca Corviniana. Budapest 1990, 67, Nr. 198. This passage comes also from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (V.5).

Literature: Harnack 1894, 858, Anm. 2, Berwig 1970, 132–133.

39. *Ephraim Chronicon 129–139*

Around A.D. 1313
Edition: Ephraemii monachi imperatorum et patriarcharum recensus interprete A. Maio. Bonnae 1840.

Καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος ʼΑντωνῖνός τις Μάρκος,
πρώτου θετὸς παῖς, φιλόσοφος τοὺς λόγους
τρόπους τε χρηστός, εὐμενὴς χριστωνύμοις,
παραλαβὼν ἴθυνε τὴν κραταρχίανῥ
ἐφ' οὗ φάλαγξ κέκλητο κεραυνοβόλος,
ἥτις μερίδος οὖσα τῶν χριστωνύμων
καιρῷ μάχης ηὔξατο Χριστῷ δεσπότῃ,
δίψει στρατιᾶς κινδυνευούσης τότε
ἀντιπάλων τε βαρβάρων ἐπιθέσειῥ
καὶ δυσμενεῖς μὲν τῷ κεραυνῷ συμφλέγει,
ὀμβρῶν δ' ἐπὶ στράτευμα πλουσίως ὕει.

Now, another Antoninus, Marcus,
the son of the above-mentioned philosopher, in his speeches,
good-natured, benevolent toward the Christians,
as heir, he himself commanded his army,
during his reign a legion was called thundering,

and some of its soldiers were Christian,
and during the battle they prayed to Our Lord, Christ,
when the army was in peril because of thirst and the attack of the barbarians,
and the enemy was burnt by lightning,
while abundant rain came down on the army.

The monk Ephraim wrote his poetic chronicle around 1313; its title is unknown. He recorded the history of Roman and Byzantine emperors until A.D. 1261: Krumbacher 1897, 390–393, Moravcsik 1958, 256–257, Moravcsik 1988, 328–335. The main source until 1118 was Zonaras, so this passage probably follows him. This source has not been taken into consideration during research on the rain miracle before.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RAIN MIRACLE IN MEDIEVAL LATIN AND BYZANTINE SOURCES

The rain and lightning miracles of Marcus Aurelius that occurred during his German-Sarmatian wars between A.D. 171 and 174 inspired the popular imagination even after the end of antiquity. The story of the rain miracle appears in Western Latin sources based mainly on Jerome and Orosius,[1] but also in Byzantine texts.[2] Naturally, the main basis for the survival of the legend was the Christian version of the miracle, but some versions of the pagan tradition were preserved as well. Here I will deal with the late tradition of the rain miracle by medieval authors, a topic not often discussed before.

As noted above, the scene of the rain miracle is depicted relatively rarely in Christian Latin sources. After the two works by Tertullian (Apol. V.25, Ad Scap. 4), the next place it appeared was the Latin translation of Eusebius' two major works from the end of the 4th century. Rufinus gives the original Greek text in his translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, albeit with omissions (V.5) and Jerome followed the original Greek in his *Chronicon* (Chron. 206i Helm), as can be seen compared to the Armenian (and Syriac) translation (222.1 [Karst]). The only modification is that Jerome changed the last sentence, quoting the original passage from Tertullian (Apol. V.25).[3] Another difference between the Latin and the Armenian versions is that the event is dated to A.D. 173 by the former and A.D. 172 by the latter.[4] From the later period, there is only information on the usage of these two translations (i.e., neither of the pagan versions were preserved any longer). The source nearest in time to the miracle, Book 7 of Orosius (*Historiarum adversum paganos libri* 7.15.8–9), also relies mainly on them. Although the same motifs appear in Orosius, the accounts were strongly reformulated and

[1] Harnack 1894, 858–859, Borzsák 1960, 243–249.

[2] Harnack 1894, 859, Petersen 1895, 456, Anm. 1, Praechter 1905, Aerts 1990, 122–123.

[3] Harnack 1894, 841, Anm. 4.

[4] Zwikker 1941, 210–211.

coloured by the author.[5] The only exception is the sentence referring to Marcus' letter, which is almost literally taken from Jerome. According to R. Klein's interesting observation, Orosius speaks of rain and other natural miracles when describing important events (Hannibal against Rome: 4.17.5 as a consequence of Theodosius' personal prayer in the battle near Frigidus: 7.35.12–14).[6] Orosius mentions the letter twice, which might be explained by the divergence of his sources or that he only had the second letter at hand and treated it with some distrust.[7] The *World Chronicle* of Prosper Tiro from the mid-5th century takes the text of Jerome almost verbatim (P. L. 51 [1846] 564). The writer of the *Chronica Gallica*, did the same at the beginning of the 6th century, with minor changes and simplifications (Chron. Min. I 641, 372), as did Fredegarius Scholasticus in his *World Chronicle* in the middle of the same century (II.37).[8] Jordanes records only the victory against the Quadi and does not mention the miracle: Rom. 272: *senior vero multis bellis sepe interfuit sepiusque per duces suos triumphum revexit, maxime de gente Quadorum.*

Another thread in the later perception of the miracle was added by historiographers, who attributed the victory of the Roman/Byzantine army similarly to a rain miracle. This was done, e.g., by Theophanes the Confessor in his *Chronographia* when describing the following story in his account of Chosroes' campaign in 624–625, during the reign of Heraclius:

> Chron. p. 315,19–22. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανυμνήτου θεοτόκου συνεργήσαντος, καὶ πολέμου κροτηθέντος, χάλαζα παραδόξως κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων κατηνέχθη καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπάταξεν, ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων παράταξις γαλήνης ἀπήλαυεν.

The motifs of the storm bursting over the enemy (here the Persians), bringing hail(!) and helping the Roman army, and divine intervention (the mediator here is, naturally, Mary) could hardly evoke any other event than the rain miracle. It was well-known from the sources and

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[5] Harnack 1894, 859, A. Lippold, Rom und die Barbaren in der Beurteilung des Orosius. Diss. Erlangen 1952, 33, Borzsák 1960, 248–249.

[6] Klein 1989, 131–133. On the sources of the battle of Frigidus see M. Springer, Die Schlacht am Frigidus als quellenkundliches und literaturgeschichtliches Problem. in: Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit. Hrsg. von Rajko Bratoz. Ljubljana 1996, 45–94.

[7] Klein 1989, 132, Anm. 44.

[8] Zwikker 1941, 210.

certainly known by this 9th-century author (cf. Cedr. Comp. hist. I, p. 727, 23–728, 2 with verbatim quotation), at least from the work of Georgius Syncellus (p. 431, 3–6), whose work he continued from 284 onwards.[9]

Interestingly, it is only in the *Additamenta* of Landolfus Sagax (around 1000) to the works of Eutropius and Paulus (*Additamenta ad Pauli Hist. Rom.* VIII.144 p. 314) that one finds the next description of the rain miracle taken from Orosius.[10] It is conspicuous that the Christian version of the miracle was not popular and that it was omitted by historical works like those of Sulpicius Severus (cf. II.32) and the *Historia Romana* by Paulus Diaconus (VIII.11).[11] The next account was given by Marianus Scottus in his *World Chronicle* (around 1100), taking the text of Jerome's chronicle without any changes. Roughly at the same time, the version of the miracle described by Orosius appeared in the chronicle of Hugo Flaviacensis (PL 154, 39) and in the *Excerptiones allegoricae* (PL 177, 249). After that, the event occurs only in the (unfortunately undatable) Latin version of the martyr act of Polyeuctus (Acta SS. Febr. II. pp. 650–651). This passage, omitted from other manuscripts of the act, is nevertheless important because some common elements of the account (e.g., the separation of the Christian soldiers) indicate that its author must have known Greek sources such as the sermon of Gregory of Nyssa.[12]

Byzantine sources show a much more abundant and interesting tradition of the rain miracle than the Latin sources. It is natural that the Eusebian version of the legend was the most widespread. It is, however, that the *Chronicon* of Eusebius was little used, as its tradition of Pertinax (222.1 [Karst]), i.e., that it was Pertinax and not Marcus Aurelius who led the army, disappeared shortly after it was written. After the 4th century, only the name of the later emperor is given in the *Chronicon Paschale* (Chron. Pasch. I, p. 486) and somewhat later, in the 8th century, in the Syriac *World Chronicle* by Pseudo-Dionysius (CSCO 104. SS 43 (1927), p. 127, 8–18). After that, the name of Pertinax and the version of the *Chronicon* is mentioned only by Georgius Syncellus. After the 9th century this tradition completely disappeared.

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[9] Szádeczky-Kardoss S., Az avar történelem forrásai. Budapest 1998, 180, Moravcsik 1958, 531–537.

[10] Harnack 1984, 859, Anm. 2.

[11] Harnack 1894, 859.

[12] Harnack 1894, 861, Anm. 2, Berwig 1970, 134, Anm. 2.

In contrast, the knowledge of the detailed story given by Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V.5) can be traced all the way back to the late Byzantine period. After Georgius Syncellus, the legend appeared again in the short *Chronicon* of Georgius Monachus, who wrote in the second half of the 9th century, (*Chronicon breve* I.138. PG 110, p. 529, 37–42, 532, 1–3), repeating all the main features of the Eusebian version: 1. War against the Germans and Sarmatians. 2. The army is starving and in peril. 3. Relief by the prayer of the Christian soldiers from Melitene. 4. The enemy is struck by lightning, while the Romans are comforted by a shower of rain. 5. The letter of Marcus. 6. Donation of the honorific title Κεραυνοβόλος. This short historical work of the author, a monk during the reign of Michael III (842–867), gives an account of the events from Adam to A.D. 842 (his original aim was to finish with 867). His main sources were Malalas and Theophanes, but the events of the imperial period are taken from a lost work of an unknown author: Cf. de Boor 1892, Moravcsik 1958, 277–280. The lost work is the *Epitome* of an unknown author and its source, the so-called "Leoquelle," can probably be identified with the work of Petrus Patricius/Anonymus post Dionem.[13] The author might have taken this story from here or directly from Eusebius. He has made some modifications, however; he does not mention the false affirmation of Eusebius that Marcus Aurelius' brother led the army.

This chapter of Georgius Monachus' work, or rather the common source, the "Leoquelle," was taken almost literally by several historians. The first case was in the *Epitome* attributed to Symeon Logothetes and Leo, describing the period from the beginning of the world to A.D. 948, which mentions the rain miracle. The author of this work is unknown and he only continued the chronicle (together with Theodosius Melitenus). There are only minor modifications in the text: αὐτοῦ ποτε is replaced by Μάρκου in the first genitive absolute of the paragraph, and the predicate ἱστορεῖται is inserted in order to facilitate the comprehension of the accusatives and infinitives. The *Synopsis historion* is a work of an 11th-century author, Georgius Cedrenus, dealing with the period from the beginning of the world to A.D. 1057. This author also takes the text of Georgius Monachus almost verbatim. Here, the genitive αὐτοῦ ποτε is omitted, as well as the predicate ἱστορεῖται. The only

[13] E. Patzig, Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe. BZ 3, 1894, 470–494, Bleckmann 1999, Brecht 1999, 56–58.

change compared to Georgius' version is that the active aorist infinitive βαλεῖν is replaced by the passive βληθῆναι.

The *Synopsis Sathas*, a chronicle ascribed to Theodorus Scutariotes, gives an account of the events from the creation of the world to A.D. 1261 (*Synopsis Sathas* (Theod. Scutariotes) p. 32, 9–17). Here, there are some minor modifications within the motifs: 1. The letter is addressed explicitly to the senate. 2. The name of the legion remains unchanged. 3. Oppian (author of the *Halieutica*) and Sextus (the teacher of Marcus and Lucius Verus) are mentioned. The paragraph underwent some stylistic changes as well: 1. the genitive absolute was replaced with οὗτος...ἀξιώσας, and 2. the temporal phrase: ἐν τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαρμάτας πολέμῳ was added. 3. The infinitive παραμυθήσασθαι was also changed, but its sense was kept: παραμυθίαν εὑρεῖν.[14] Furthermore, the *Synopsis* is exceptionally important because the text—unlike those of other authors—does not stop here, and—like Eusebius—the letter of Marcus Aurelius is also mentioned. This can be understood as a piece of evidence that the original source was not Georgius Monacensis and that its source, the *Epitome*, was also used by Theodorus Scutariotes.

A much longer account of the events is given by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulus (ca. 1256–1317), who wrote a Church chronicle until his own day, but only the first 18 books have survived (until A.D. 610). The part of the work that goes on to the 10th century is the adaptation of the chronicle of an unknown 10th-century author, probably a compilation of previous works on Church history. The passage discussed here is, however, almost certainly a close borrowing from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V.5), as it follows every sentence of Eusebius' text, with minor stylistic changes (e.g., the legion of Melitene (*XII fulminata*) is mentioned as "our legion": ἡ ἡμετέρη λεγεῶν). The only difference from Eusebius is that the rain miracle is dealt with during the enumeration of Tertullian's works, including the *Apologia*, to which—following Eusebius—Nicephorus connects the story of the rain miracle.

This is not the only version of the legend that has survived. In the course of Cassius Dio's further usage in excerpta and epitomes, naturally, the Arnuphis branch of the pagan versions of the miracle appears again. One first reads about the miracle in the entries on

[14] Previous research only mentions the fact that the rain miracle is also described by these latter works: Praechter 1905, 257, Anm. 1, Aerts 1990, 122.

Arnuphis (A 3987) and Julian (I 334) in the *Suda*, an encyclopaedia composed in the second half of the 10th century. I will deal separately with the latter entry, which makes Julian Theurgistes the invoker of the miracle. Suffice it to mention in advance that no source before the *Suda* had linked the miracle to Julian, and, what is even more remarkable, neither did the *Suda* use an earlier source for that entry, but simply took the description of the miracle from the Arnuphis entry. The *Suda* wrote about Arnuphis following Cassius Dio (LXXI.8), which is shown not only by the accurate summarizing of Dio's text, but also by the expressions taken from Dio: e.g., συνὼν Μάρκῳ (cf. Dio LXXI.8. 4). Another question which is rather important for the pagan tradition of the miracle might be answered based on the *Suda*'s text. According to Domaszewski, chapter 10 was not written by Dio, but rather forged by Xiphilinus, where he mistook the earlier lightning miracle for the rain miracle.[15] This assumption, however, can hardly be true, as the *Suda*'s Arnuphis entry (A 3987) describes the same version. The *Suda* long before Xiphilinus was born. Therefore, one should draw the conclusion (unless the *Suda* and Xiphilinus follow an earlier Christian epitomist separately, which is not very probable)[16] that the confusion of the lightning miracle and the rain miracle took place already in Dio's work or that the lightning helped the Romans twice during the same campaign.

The remaining epitomes of Cassius Dio are the work of Joannes Xiphilinus of Trapezos, who summarised books 36–80 during the reign of Michael Ducas (A.D. 1071–1078). After book 60, the original can only be reconstructed with their help. For the events concerning Christianity, Xiphilinus added his own remarks to the respective paragraphs. This happened in LXXI.8–10, which deal with the rain miracle, where chapter 9 is entirely Xiphilinus' own commentary, whereas chapters 8 and 10 give a summary of Dio's text. The epitomist seems to have taken the details from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*; he does not mention Pertinax, and the same motifs can be observed as in Eusebius:

(1) The mention of the legion consisting of Christians.
(2) The presence of Marcus.

[15] Domaszewski 1895.
[16] That latter assumption (cf. Krumbacher 1897, 370) cannot be proved: Millar 1964, 2, n. 4.

(3) The successful prayer of the Christian soldiers.
(4) Lightning destroying the enemy and the rain.
(5) Marcus gives the honorary title Κεραυνοβόλος.
(6) Marcus' letter.
(7) Pagan Greek authors are mentioned who deliberately do not take notice of the grounds for giving the honorary title.

A closer examination, however, makes it clear that this is again the textual variant first preserved by Georgius Monachus (*Chronicon breve* I.138, PG 110, p. 529, 37–42, 532, 1–3).

Georg. Mon.	Xiph.
τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραμυθήσασθαι. Ὅπερ (ὥς φασι) σφοδρῶς καταπλῆξαν τὸν Μάρκον, γράφει τιμᾶσθαι Χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ λεγεῶνα Κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι.	τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὄμβρῳ παραμυθήσασθαι· ἐφ' οἷς καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τούς τε Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν λεγεῶνα κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι.

Similarly to the *Synopsis Sathas*, the story continues here following Eusebius, mentioning the letter of Marcus Aurelius as well as the pagan authors who deny the miracle. Here one must again conclude that Xiphilinus also used Georgius Monachus as a source because these parts of the text no longer appear in the works of Georgius and those following him. The idea that the legion consisted entirely of Christians first appeared in Xiphilinus (LXXI.9.3) and might be due to a misunderstanding of Eusebius' text:

τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης, where the participle συνεστῶσα must certainly refer to πίστις (and not to λεγεών).[17] The Latin translation of Rufinus gives this passage as: *in legione quadam milites Christianos.* Following Xiphilinus, the mistake appears in other authors as well (Zon. XII.2: τις ἐν τῇ τότε Ῥωμαικῇ στρατιᾷ λεγεών, οἳ πάντες ἦσαν χριστιανοί, Ephr. Chron. 134: ἥτις μερίδος οὖσα τῶν χριστωνύμων).

[17] Harnack 1894, 840, Petersen 1895, 456, Anm. 1.

Moreover, Xiphilinus makes his own introductory remarks: 1. Dio is wrong about Arnuphis. 2. He is not mentioned elsewhere: Xiphilinus refers to Marcus' suspicion of magi, perhaps following Marcus' own work (Med.I.6). 3. He mentions that legion earlier (LV. 23. 5).[18]

The *Epitome historion*, the historical work of Zonaras, who lived in the first half of the 12th century, also deals with the history of the world until A.D. 1118. His account of Roman history is based on Cassius Dio, and the epitomes of his work from the reign of Trajan, i.e., Joannes Xiphilinus,[19] thus the passage describing the rain miracle (XII.2). Zonaras summarises all three chapters of the epitome (LXXI.8–10). When speaking of authors denying the Christian character of the miracle, Dio is also mentioned, whereas in telling the Christian version Zonaras makes clear that the main source for everyone is Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (μέμνηται δὲ τῆς παραδοξοποιίας ταύτης ἐν τῇ 'Εκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ὁ Εὐσέβιος). Minor changes facilitating this interpretation can be observed in the text: e.g., praetorian prefect is translated as ἔπαρχος τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ instead of ἔπαρχος.

The only later versified account of Marcus Aurelius' rain miracle appears in the verse chronicle of the monk Ephraim, written in 1313 (Chron. 129–139), where he deals with the history of the Roman and Byzantine emperors until 1261. Until 1118, Ephraim's main source was Zonaras, hence this passage probably also follows him. Ephraim discusses the rain miracle in the second half of the section in which he summarises and praises the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He certainly follows the version of Xiphilinus and Zonaras, because he describes the legion as consisting of Christians (Chron. 133–134). The core of the story is the same: the prayer of the Christians causes a comforting rain to fall on the Romans, and the barbarians—not mentioned by name—are struck by lightning.

Byzantine authors preserved mostly the Christian version of the rain miracle, whereas knowledge of the pagan branch (of Arnuphis) is found only in the works of authors who followed Cassius Dio. The line of Julian Theurgistes is, in my opinion, only a very late mistaken

[18] Here, however, Κεραυνοφόρος is rightly given as the equivalent of the epithet *fulminata*.

[19] U. P. Boissevain, 'Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander. Hermés 26, 1891, 440–452.

account of the miracle (perhaps related to the compiler of the *Suda*), which I will discuss below. But the situation is even more complicated: in late antiquity, a third version that became very popular through pagan authors appeared in the sources, according to which it was Marcus Aurelius, the idealized philosopher-emperor himself, who invoked the miracle. As K. Praechter showed in a brief paper,[20] in a funeral oration of Georgius Acropolites (1217–1282) devoted to the memory of Joannes Ducas, who died in 1254 (*Epitaphius in Ioannem Ducam* 15), there are some serious correspondences to oration XV of Themistius, part of which (Or. XV. 191b, cf. also XXIV. 21) deals with the rain miracle:

Them.	Georg. Acrop.
Μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι, οὔτι νέον γε. Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, ᾧ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπώνυμον ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἦν, τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους αὐτῷ πιεζομένου, ἀνασχὼν τὼ χεῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ταύτῃ, ἔφη, τῇ χειρὶ προὐτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἱκέτευσα τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ᾗ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην. καὶ οὕτω κατῄδεσε τὸν θεὸν τῇ εὐχῇ ὥστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἧκον νεφέλαι ὑδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέντας καὶ ἐμπιπλαμένους τοῦ νάματος τοῦ θεοσδότου.	θαυμάζεται μὲν Τῖτος ὁ καῖσαρ ὅτιπερ ἐν καιρῷ αὐχμοῦ παρόντος ἅπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν ‘αἰδέσθητι ταύτας’ λέξας ‘θεέ, αἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσαν αἷμα ἀνθρώπειον, καὶ πέμψον ὑετὸν ἐπὶ γῆς’ καὶ παραυτά φασιν ὗσαι ῥαγδαῖον ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.

One should not be misled by the fact that in Themistius it is Antoninus Pius who caused the miracle (cf. the adjective εὐσεβὴς), whereas in Georgius Acropolites' work it is Titus. There are reasons for both mistakes. Marcus Aurelius' official name, Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Antoninus Aug., might have led Themistius to think that the miracle should be attributed to Antoninus Pius (cf. Marcus Aurelius, the emperor's brother in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (V.5.1) and also led Zonaras to ascribe the auction of the emperor's property to Antoninus Pius: XII. 79). Georgius Acropolites, as was rightly assumed by Praechter, may have worked from memory and hence confused Marcus and Titus, the two

[20] Praechter 1905.

emperors remembered as good.[21] The prayer of Emperor Titus with his hands raised is mentioned by Josephus Flavius in the description of the siege of Jerusalem (Bell. Iud. V.12.3). Of primary importance here is that neither account mentions the lightning miracle This, together with the emphasis on the person of Marcus, makes it almost certain that the original pagan version, which appeared earlier in the *Oracula Sibyllina* (XII.194–200), did not yet link the two events.

Georgius Acropolites is not the only and not even the earliest Byzantine author to link the rain miracle to the person of Marcus Aurelius. The *editio princeps* of Michael Psellus' *Historia syntomos* was published less than two decades ago.[22] Unlike his much better-known *Chronographia*, this short work describes the period from the foundation of Rome until the reign of Basil II (976–1025). The rain miracle is mentioned in the account of the imperial period (2, 267^{r}, 55–64, pp. 20–22).[23] The brief description shows that according to Psellus it was Marcus Aurelius who caused the miracle to happen, as his prayer was answered by God because Marcus was pagan, but God-fearing. The event is described in much the same manner as the Christian version:

1. Comforting rain for the Romans;
2. The enemy is struck by lightning.

This makes it clear that Psellus' source cannot have been the passage of Themistius quoted above. As the formulation shows a strong similarity with the Christian version of Georgius Monachus, it must be considered that the author, who knew both the pagan and the Christian versions, combined them so as to deliberately change the order of events: (1) Helping the Roman soldiers, (2) Defeating the enemy.

Georg. Mon.	Psellus
δι' εὐχῆς ἐκτενοῦς πρὸς Θεὸν γενομένης, τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, ὄμβρῳ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παραμυθήσασθαι.	ὄμβρον τε δι' εὔχης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατήνεγκε διψῶσι τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους κεραυνοῖς ἐξαπιναίως ἀπώσατο.

[21] Praechter 1905, 258.
[22] Aerts 1990.
[23] Fowden 1987, 92, n. 44, Aerts 1990, 122–123.

Another important feature in Psellus is that although he knew late antique magic and the Chaldeans well he did not link the miracle to the person of Julian Theurgistes.

In conclusion, one may state that the legend of the rain miracle survived in both Eastern and Western sources. What is even more important, however, is not only that the Christian version of the miracle appears in Byzantine authors, but—albeit much more rarely—pagan versions were also known to them due to their knowledge of Cassius Dio and Themistius. Various considerations support the assumption that the third pagan version, that Julian Theurgistes invoked the miracle, appeared only very late, perhaps in the 10th century, and is due to the compiler of the *Suda*.

CHAPTER FIVE

COINS AND THE RAIN MIRACLE

Coins that supposed to serve as data for explicating the rain and lightening miracle have been studied in a number of works (see the literature cited at the end of this chapter). In this chapter I examine these coins.

Coins: Mints with the legend RELIG AVG and the figure of Mercurius on the reverse, partly in an Egyptian-style temple, end of A.D. 172–173: RIC III (1930) Nos. 285–285a: denarius, 308–309: denarius, 1070–1073: dupondius, 1074–1076 (with aedicula), 1077–1082: sestertius, second half of A.D. 174: 309: denarius, A.D. 175: 298: denarius.

Coins with the legend VIC GER and the figure of the emperor holding thunderbolt, 172 A.D.: RIC III (1930) Nrs. 264–266 = BMC IV (1940) Nrs. 627, 1437–1438: aureus and denarius, medallion with the figure of Jupiter, striking barbarians (substituted for Gigantes) with his thunder from quadriga, 173 A.D.: Gnecchi 1912, 28, Nr. 11.

Among the coins minted by Marcus Aurelius, several types were connected earlier to the lightning and rain miracles. The lightening miracle was first identified with a type of minting depicting the emperor as Jupiter, holding a thunderbolt and spear, his head crowned by Victoria, with the legend Vic(toria) Ger(manica).[1] But this can hardly refer to the lightning miracle, since: 1. as first formulated by A. Alföldi, the depiction of the emperor holding a thunderbolt should not be associated with any concrete event, it is only intended to evoke the victorious commander who appears as the chief god. Moreover, no new iconographic features can be observed; the same type is known from earlier times that pre-date the 170s and also occurs frequently on the coins of Domitian and Trajan (BMC II (1930) pp. 372, 377, 386, Nr. 381, 410, 443, 465, 476, BMC III (1936) Nr. 825, 899).[2] 2. It could hardly have

[1] At least partially: Szaivert 1986, 205, Wolff 1990, 27, Anm. 54.

[2] Rubin 1979, 366. An interesting parallel of the depiction can be seen on one of the metope scenes of Trajan's arch in Beneventum, where Jupiter is handing the thunderbolt to the emperor as the symbol of his divine reign: J. Bennett, Trajan. Optimus princeps. London-New York 1997, 207.

been part of the official propaganda of Marcus' age that the emperor himself strikes the enemy with his lightening bolt. 3. From the same period of Marcus' reign several coin pictures also depict the emperor (RIC III 263, 282, 296), but without the lightning bolt, holding only a sceptre and a branch. Other mintings depict Jupiter sitting, holding a scepter and thunderbolt; on one of the variants he is holding Victoria (RIC III 227–229, 1096–1102, 1109).

A medallion was also associated with the same event; it was struck in A.D. 173, depicting Jupiter as he is striking the barbarians lying in front of him with his bolt from a quadriga. This event, referring to the Gigantomachia, should have evoked the victories against the Germans achieved with the help of the chief god (whose most characteristic attribute is the thunderbolt)—this, however, cannot be proved to refer concretely to the lightning miracle, hence it remains only an attractive assumption. Similarly, no connection can be demonstrated between the miracle and the coins struck in the second half of A.D. 177 that depict a winged thunderbolt (RIC III 1219).

It is much more difficult to interpret the coins with the legend Relig(io) Aug(usti) and the figure of Mercurius, minted for a number of years between 173 and 175, a type of which (RIC III 1074–1076) depicts the deity in an undoubtedly Egyptianised tetrastyle shrine (*aedicula*) (arched façade, with turtle, cock, caduceus and winged helm). A. Pagi associated this type with the rain miracle as early as the second half of the 17th century, and—through the Egyptianised building—particularly with Dio's version of the miracle (LXXI.8.4), with Hermes Aerios, who appears there, and the Egyptian magus, Arnuphis, who invoked the miracle. His theory was supported by the inscription dedicated by Arnuphis hierogrammateus Aegypti to Isis (AÉp 1934, 245 = Inscriptiones Aquileiae 234) found in Aquileia in 1932. As the coins were not struck before December 173, the theory that the rain miracle happened in 172 was equally confirmed, and hence an Egyptian line of the miracle was described by Guey, Posener, and Rubin (Guey 1948a, Posener 1951, Rubin 1979), who identified Hermes Aerios with Thot-Shou. More recently, however, some doubts have rightly been raised from the perspective of numismatic research (Sordi, Szaivert, Schindler-Horstkotte) as to the association of this type of coin with the rain miracle. According to Szaivert, the coins depicting Mercurius might be related to the rain miracle, but, in his view, this is doubtful because the type fits well into the series of types struck during the war (SECVRITAS PVBLICA, RESTITVTORI ITALIAE, types depicting

Germans). Moreover, the date of 174 is more probable; the depiction of the god on the column does not support this assumption, either; among the Egyptian gods, Hermes Trismegistus is better identified with the figure of Mercurius. In Schindler-Horstkotte's opinion, the former explanation (mainly by Rubin) of the coins with the legend RELIG AVG is not very satisfying, as from the beginning of the 2nd century the senate had no influence on bronze minting. Here this type appeared earlier, but that cannot be explained by the introduction of a cult that had to be approved earlier by the senate (*religio* instead of *superstitio*, which might have caused the delay), and that also had to be accepted by Marcus. When examining the Arnuphis' version, one should not forget that Dio also mentioned other gods besides Hermes, and—according to Schindler-Horstkotte—it is hard to imagine that such an unknown deity, not acknowledged by the state, could have been accepted as the god of an event of that importance.

Besides these objections to the connection of this type of coin and the rain miracle, H. Wolff has formulated a number of others:[3]

1. The investigation of the whole problem makes sense only if it is first determined that Dio's version stemming from another source is the same as the official version accepted by Marcus. If this is not the case it would hardly have been depicted on coins.
2. It is most doubtful that the miracle was attributed to Jupiter, according to Tertullian, and no reference is made to Hermes on the column (the allegorical figure of the rain god can hardly be interpreted thus).
3. Likewise, Rubin's assumption that Marcus changed his mind afterwards and rejected the Egyptian version is mere speculation. Coins, even denarii, of the RELIG AVG type were minted for years, even in 175; therefore this would not explain the quick disappearance of the Arnuphis version.
4. Arnuphis, the magus, does not appear on the column; Dio explicitly writes that συνὼν τῷ Μάρκῳ (8. 4), who was not present, either.
5. According to Dio's account, Hermes Aerios was only one of the gods who were called on for help (8. 4): ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι, i.e., it was "by them" (in

[3] Wolff 1989, 41, Anm. 14, Wolff 1990, 14–16.

the plural) that Arnuphis succeeded! If other deities contributed to the miracle, they should also have been depicted in addition to Mercurius on the coins of the RELIG AVG type.

6. If these mintings really do refer to the addition of the cult of a new Egyptian god to the Roman pantheon, such a solemn act would have made the emperor's personal presence necessary, because he was the *pontifex maximus* and because the legends speak of the personal *religio* of the *Augustus*.
7. If the official version of the miracle were so unequivocal there would not have been such a fervent debate (even in antiquity), and pagan and Christian versions providing such different accounts. The whole debate may have begun only due to the fact that Marcus did not name any god in the report (letter) he sent to the senate.
8. The attempts of Guey notwithstanding, there are some chronological problems with establishing a link between the coins and the miracle. If the miracle took place in the summer of 173, how could a new building appear on the coins of the same year? Moreover, if one assumes the summer of 172, there is half a year of silence that does not make sense. A new type with the XXVIIth imperial acclamation of Marcus could not have appeared before 10 December 172.
9. Among the most important questions are the meaning of the legend *Religio Augusti*, its relation to Mercurius who always figures with such legends, and whether this can only can be explained by the rain miracle. Legends referring to the emperor's *religio* rarely appear on imperial coinage: only on the mintings of Valerianus and Saloninus from the 250s (RIC V (1927) 114–115, 29). Marcus had already had coins with the figure of Mercurius (159–160 A.D.).[4] On the reverses of these coins RIC III 1074–1076, Mercurius is standing in an Egyptianized tetrastyle shrine, but none of the divine attributes appears on the half-circle façade (turtle, cock, goat—the sacred animals of Mercurius—caduceus, winged helm) nor does the figure of Mercurius himself refer to some kind of new Egyptian deity. What could possibly have been such an important motif that it made the emperor build a new and probably expensive shrine in the city of Rome despite the rather demanding time of wars (one might think of the auctioning of Marcus' properties)? Is it not more plausible to assume with H. Wolff that building such a shrine took longer

[4] Gnecchi 1912, 33, Nr. 47 = Banti 1985, 264, Nr. 381.

and therefore it is probable that Marcus made a vow during the epidemic of 167, when the *peregrini ritus* were applied, and that the legend RELIG AVG could refer to the fulfilment[5] of that *votum*?[6]

10. To go one step further, is it impossible that these coins refer to another passage of the *vita Marci* (21. 6): *instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum diligentissime restituit*, i.e., that the object of the *religio* was actually the restoration of the gods' cults? Given its place within the *vita Marci* (it is mentioned after the Egyptian and Hispanic events of 172), this might be considered a logical solution.

Literature: Petersen 1895, 472–473, Marcus-Säule, 112, Weber 1910, Dodd 1913, 188, 277, 287–291, Dobiáš 1932, 136–138, 145–149, Zwikker 1941, 131–134, Alföldi 1942, 228, j. 269, Roos 1943, 7, Guey 1948, 117–118, 120–123, Guey 1948a, Guey 1848, 107–111, Morris 1952, 75, Sordi 1957–1959, Freudenberger 1968, 254, Barta 1968, 88, Berwig 1970, 158–162, Jobst 1978, 15, Rubin 1979, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 52–64, Szaivert 1986, 70, 76, 205–206, Fowden 1987, 88, Klein 1989, 123, Wolff 1989, 41, Anm. 14, Wolff 1990, 14–17, Szaivert 1993, 503, Motschmann 2002, 135–142, Perea Yébenes 2002, 114–119, 150–151.

[5] Wolff 1990, 14–15.

[6] Cf. the coin type of Marcus depicting his 167 *votum*: RIC III 951–952. Gnecchi 1912, 33, Nr. 47 = Banti 1985, 264, Nr. 381.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FORGED LETTER ATTRIBUTED TO MARCUS AURELIUS

One of the most interesting sources related to the rain miracle is the—surely forged—Greek letter in which the emperor reports the events to the senate. The text was preserved in a 14th-century manuscript (Cod. Par. Gr. 450) attached to the *Apologia* of the Greek Church Father Justin.[1] The letter, its date, and value as a source have been vehemently debated;[2] therefore it is worth examining it separately.

Although Scaliger had already devoted some attention to the letter,[3] it was only Harnack who fitted it into the sources on the rain miracle in detail.[4] According to him the letter is obviously forged, but it followed reliable sources, as 1. its author knew about the emperor's letters addressed to the senate; 2. he describes the blockade and the thirst; 3. he gives an account of the solders' prayer; 4. he tells the story of the rain comforting the Romans and the thunder destroying the enemy; 5. he names two Romans: Pompeianus and Vitrasius Pollio; 6. he has exact topographic data; and 7. he mentions troops who surely participated in the war.

Moreover, the author includes Marcus praying, too, therefore he must have known the pagan version of the legend, and answered it in this way. He must also have known the information stemming from Tertullian and Eusebius, according to which the emperor had prohibited further persecution of the Christians. Thus, the *terminus post quem* for the writing of the letter is A.D. 311, as the author must have known Galerius' edict of toleration (Eus. H. E. VIII.17.9). A later date for the letter is supported by its language, a koine full of barbarisms. The original letter

[1] Edited in Harnack 1894, 878–879, Ed. J. C. T. Otto, Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi I³. Jena 1876 (repr. Wiesbaden 1969) 246–252.

[2] Harnack 1894, 863–871, 878–882, Domaszewski 1894, 616–617, Domaszewski 1895, 123–124, Mommsen 1895, 91, Anm. 2, Geffcken 1899, 264–267, 269, Anm. 1, Zwikker 1941, 213, Anm. 180, Freudenberger 1968, Merkelbach 1968, Berwig 1970, 135–140, Birley 1987, 173–174, Sage 1987, 106–107, Klein 1989, 126–127.

[3] Harnack 1894, 878–882.

[4] Harnack 1894, 863–871.

cannot have been known to the author or else he would not have written a new one. The relationship between the letter and Dio-Xiphilinus, however, is uncertain. Harnack clearly and convincingly showed that the letter in its present form cannot have been written based on them alone. There are serious differences between the two versions: 1. The praying emperor; 2. The praying soldiers; 3. The data on the legions diverge; the participation of the *legio XII fulminata* is not mentioned in the letter, an anti-Christian tendency, Harnack suggests.

According to Harnack, however, there are some elements in common, for example, the word περίστασις that appears in a sentence of Xiphilinus (LXXI.9. 3–4) occurs only in the letter.[5] Based on this, Harnack assumed a common source from the age of Marcus (Quelle X) that was used by both authors. Scaliger's textual emendations are not correct, sometimes even misleading. An example is the correction of the reading *Cotinum* to Carnuntum caused by Scaliger's lack of information. Domaszewski also had a negative opinion of the value of the letter as a source.[6] The real data, like, e.g., the names of the legions, stem from a historian (Dio or Dexippus), and, according to Domaszewski the expression μῖγμα κατηριθμημένον refers to the barbarians. According to Mommsen, denying the existence of X, the author of the letter took his data, like Xiphilinus, from Eusebius and Dio's still-complete text.[7] The function *polemarkhos* could have been identified with the late Roman *magister militum*, and Vitrasius could have sent the letter to the provinces according to the later function of a praetorian prefect. These features themselves suggest—according to the style of the letter—a late (but not medieval) date for the writing of the letter. "Sacred" as an adjective of the senate was used in Asia, which supplies the place where the letter was written. Geffcken dealt mainly with the date of the letter.[8] He was the first to formulate, rightly, that a date from the Byzantine age is quite uncertain due to the fact that the *legio XII fulminata* is not mentioned (as I have shown above, in the Middle Ages only the data of Eusebius and his translators were repeated). According to Geffcken the letter could have been written shortly after 311, but still under

[5] That latter find (the occurrence of a word in both passages) is not sufficient evidence in itself, but perhaps it might indicate a common source. Based on that, the letter cannot be traced back to Xiphilinus.

[6] Domaszewski 1894, 617–618, Domaszewski 1895, 123–124.

[7] Mommsen 1895, 91, Anm. 2.

[8] Geffcken 1899, 264–267, 269, Anm. 1.

the reign of Licinius (before 324), when the emancipation of the new religion needed some support and the story of the *legio XII fulminata* was not yet so widely known that the forger would necessarily include it in the circumstances of the miracle. The language of the letter is koine, and that—together with the Greek equivalent of the Latin word *explorator*—does not exclude the later date. He suggests that this date is also supported by the fact that a passage of Rufinus' Latin translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* departs from the original text and seems to follow the letter:

tradunt historiae, cum siti eius	’Αμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
periclitaretur exercitus, aestuantem,	καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας
quid facto opus eset, repperisse in legione	τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς
quadam milites Christianos…	παρ’ ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς.

Later, the forged letter had a smaller role in the debate; for Zwikker, its only importance was that it might mention some particular troops following Cassius Dio.[9] Freudenberger summarised the whole tradition of the rain miracle in the light of the letter.[10] He agreed that the letter was written in the first half of the 4th century. The core of the whole miracle may have been a thunderstorm that took place in the presence of a vexillation (consisting possibly of the soldiers of the *legio X fretensis* and *XII fulminata*) led by Pertinax. Merkelbach was the first to examine the manuscript tradition of the letter; the result of his survey was a conclusion that the present letter stems from the mingling of two former versions, and hence parallel variants of some sentences or phrases could have survived in the same manuscript.[11] As for the huge number of Germans, he shows that the distance of 9 miles that occurs in version A is in fact the number of soldiers: 9000. In version A, it is the *exploratores* who report the event; in B it is Pompeianus himself. The number of 1000 × 900 persons in version B is surely corrupted; originally, this may have been 9000. Thus, the numbers in both versions are similar: 9074–9077. That is not such a huge number, and therefore Merkelbach concludes that the number of soldiers in version B might refer to the number of smaller barbarian units. Based on that, the original version cannot be completely reconstructed. He was also

[9] Zwikker 1941, 213, Anm. 180.
[10] Freudenberger 1968.
[11] Merkelbach 1968.

of the opinion that the expression μῖγμα κατηριθμημένον means a vexillation comprising three legions.

Subsequently, Berwig dealt with the letter more extensively in his overview.[12] In his opinion (following Scaliger), the letter is a rather late forgery, since 1. its language is koine; 2. the author has used Gregory of Nyssa, as the motif of soldiers laying down their weapons can be found in both authors; 3. Marcus' title is not exact; he no longer used the title *Parthicus* and was not yet using the title *Sarmaticus* (only after 176), Vitrasius Pollio was not praef. praet. (cf. CIL VI 1540 = 31675 = 14145 = ILS 1112); 4. no ancient author used the forged letter; 5. although he gives reliable data, the use of Xiphilinus (albeit to a lesser extent) can be seen in the letter. Berwig also tried to support this by the similarity of the two passages already identified by Harnack.[13] Both would go back to the Quelle X assumed by Harnack. According to A. R. Birley, certain data of the letter stemmed from a reliable source; Vitrasius Pollio, being a senator, could not possibly have been praetorian prefect, only *praefectus urbi*.[14] Examining Eusebius' sources, M. M. Sage drew the conclusion that the letter is correctly dated to the 4th century, but it should be noted that Pertinax is not mentioned.[15] Moreover, he argues that it is not the function of Vitrasius Pollio that is incorrect, but the praetorian prefect was incorrectly identified. According to R. Klein, the author of the letter, who went back to Cassius Dio, was a Christian who made use of his forgery in the debate between pagans and Christians and therefore a date from the 4th century should be considered a real possibility.[16] A new feature of the letter is the unsuccesful prayer of Marcus that lets the letter fit properly into the pagan-Christian debate about the rain miracle.

The exact content of the letter is as follows:

Μάρκου βασιλέως 'Επιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν Σύγκλητον, ἐν ᾗ μαρτυρεῖ Χριστιανοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν.

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[12] Berwig 1970, 135–140.

[13] This does not prove the dependence of one passage on the other. Two verbs with similar senses and a noun (περίστασις) that occurs in both (not even cited by Berwig) is hardly sufficient (but see infra). Cf. Dio LXXI.9.3–4: ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν ἔπαρχον, ἀμηχανοῦντι πρὸς τὴν περίστασιν καὶ δεδιότι περὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ.... 'Αμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν...παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς...

[14] Birley 1987, 173–174, 262, but cf. Alföldy 1977, 288, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 4957.

[15] Sage 1987, 106–107.

[16] Klein 1989, 126–127.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Γερμανικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς Δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ Ἱερᾷ Συγκλίτῳ χαίρειν. Φανερὰ ὑμῖν ἐποίησα τὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σκοποῦ μεγέθη, ὁποῖα ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐκ περιστάσεως διὰ περιβολῆς ἐπακολουθήματα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ Κοάδων καὶ Σαρματῶν, ἐν Κοτινοῖς καταλαμβανομένου μου ὑπὸ δρακόντων ἑβδομήκοντα τεσσάρων ἀπὸ μιλίων ἐννέα. Γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἐξπλωράτωρες ἐμήνυσαν ἡμῖν καὶ Πομπηιανὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος πολέμαρχος ἐδήλωσεν ἡμῖν ἅτινα εἴδομεν (καταλαμβανόμενος δὲ ἤμην ἐν μεγέθει πλήθους ἀμίκτου, καὶ στρατευμάτων λεγεῶνος πρίμας, δεκάτης, γεμίνας, φρεντησίας μῖγμα κατηριθμημένον), πλήθη παρεῖναι παμμίκτου ὄχλου χιλιάδων ἐνακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. Ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων, κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι πατρῴοις. Ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς καὶ ἐπερωτήσας εὗρον πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος εἰς αὐτούς, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπρεπε διὰ τὸ ὕστερον ἐπεγνωκέναι με τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν. Ὅθεν ἀρξάμενοι οὐ βελῶν παράρτησιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτε σαλπίγγων, διὰ τὸ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν θεόν, ὃν φοροῦσι κατὰ συνείδησιν.

Εἰκὸς οὖν ἐστιν, οὓς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀθέους εἶναι ὅτι θεὸν ἔχουσιν αὐτόματον ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει τετειχισμένον. Ῥίψαντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἐδεήθησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος στρατεύματος, παρήγορον γενέσθαι δίψης καὶ λιμοῦ τῆς παρούσης. Πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ εἰλήφειμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναιρ ἦμεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεσομφάλῳ τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν. Ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους ῥίψαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εὔχεσθαι θεῷ, ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν, εὐθέως ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει οὐρανόθεν, ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ψυχρότατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβούλους χάλαζα πυρώδης. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺ θεοῦ παρουσίαν ἐν εὐχῇ γινομένην παραυτίκα ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτου καὶ ἀκαταλύτου. Αὐτόθεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι συγχωρήσωμεν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι Χριστιανοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν τι τοιοῦτον αἰτησάμενοι ὅπλον ἐπιτύχωσι. Τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον συμβουλεύω, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι Χριστιανόν, μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι. Εἰ δὲ εὑρεθείη τις ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Χριστιανῷ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι, τὸν μὲν προσαγόμενον Χριστιανὸν πρόδηλον εἶναι βούλομαι, γίνεσθαι ὁμολογήσαντα τοῦτο, ἄλλο ἕτερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλούμενον ἢ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι μόνον, τὸν προσάγοντα δὲ τοῦτον ζῶντα καίεσθαι τὸν δὲ Χριστιανὸν ὁμολογήσαντα καὶ συνασφαλισάμενον περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς μετάνοιαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ μετάγειν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ

τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι κυρωθῆναι βούλομαι, καὶ κελεύω τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα ἐν τῷ φόρῳ τοῦ Τραιανοῦ προτεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Φροντίσει ὁ πραίφεκτος Βιτράσιος Πολλίων εἰς τὰς πέριξ ἐπαρχίας πεμφθῆναι πάντα δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔχειν μὴ κωλύεσθαι λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν προτεθέντων παρ' ἡμῶν.

The essence of the letter is as follows: the emperor gives an account of the events in the first person, suggesting that he was present himself. At the German-Sarmatian border, in the land of the Cotini, his army —consisting of the vexillations of the *legio I adiutrix*, the *X gemina* and the *X fretensis*—was surrounded by the enemy. The number of the enemy is overstated due to textual corruption and deliberate exaggeration (977 000 persons). According to Merkelbach's emendation it may have been 9074 to 9077. As a consequence of the five days' blockade there was shortage of water. First, the emperor himself prayed for the gods' help, but without success. Then he called on the Christian soldiers, who prayed unarmed for the emperor and their fellow soldiers, and rain came to the Romans, while the enemy was struck by fiery hail (χάλαζα πυρώδης). The only parallel of that expression occurs in Claudian (VI. cons. Hon. 342), where he writes *flammeus imber*. The Greek word χάλαζα appears only in Dio (LXXI.10.2).[17] After that, the emperor prohibited the persecution of Christians. He had his decree promulgated in Trajan's forum and the *praefectus praetorio* sent copies to the provinces.

This is the official Christian version of the miracle, yet there is an essential decisive difference. The topographic and historical military data of the letter seem to be exact, and yet the *legio XII fulminata*, the most important element of that version, is missing. *Legio I adiutrix* and *legio X gemina* surely participated in the Marcomannic wars, and Domaszewski has proved that the participation of a vexillation of the *legio X fretensis* can also be accepted (CIL XI 6055 = ILS 2743).[18] The source of the letter had exact knowledge of the topographic details, too: the scene is the border between the Germans and Sarmatians, the land of the

[17] One also has to consider that the latter expression might have been inspired by the 7th miracle of Moses, where icy hail and fire are mentioned together several times (χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ): Ex. 9.13.34.

[18] Domaszewski 1894, 618, Anm. 1, Domaszewski 1895, 124, Anm. 1, A. v. Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres. Einführung, Berichtigungen und Nachträge von B. Dobson. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 14. Köln-Wien 1981^3, 268, Zwikker 1941, 118. The deceased had been distinguished two times during the war as a centurio (officer of the leg. X Fretensis and IIII Flavia).

Cotini. This information (i.e., that the land of the Cotini bordered on the territories of the Quadi and the Sarmatians) is also supported by other sources (Tac. Ger. 43. 1, Ptol. II. 14. 2, Dio LXXI.12. 3).[19]

The fact that the *legio XII fulminata* is not mentioned and that the author used a text of Galerius' edict give the date of the letter's composition. It must certainly have been written after 311, but before the version of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* began to prevail in the Byzantine tradition. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* was so strong, that—as noted below—even the data of the *Chronicon* disappeared and only traces of pagan tradition can be found. The absence of the *legio X fretensis* can only be explained by the lack of knowledge (or acceptance) of Eusebius' version. An anti-Christian tendency, as supposed by Harnack, is not visible here. One also has to assume a similar date considering that the author of the letter knew and used the pagan version of the miracle according to which it was invoked by Marcus' prayer. In the letter, of course, the prayer is not successful. One need not repeat Geffcken's argument, that the letter may be a product of the 4th-century debates between pagans and Christians because it was only then that an unsuccessful prayer of the emperor had to be emphasized and that different Christian versions could co-exist. One of the most important variants of the pagan line, the emperor's personal prayer, was known from the *Oracula Sibyllina* as early as the 3rd century A.D., and hence it cannot be understood as an answer to Christian propaganda from the second half of the 4th century A.D. It might be assumed, on the contrary, that the unsuccessful prayer of the emperor was the answer to the pagan propaganda given by the Christian line.

The language of the letter is koine rather than Middle Greek. The use of the genitive absolute after Sing. 1. was already a frequent phenomenon, just like the usage of Latin words of military origin, e.g., *explorator*,[20] which went out of use rather early, with the Greek κατάσκοπος being used instead. The word δράκων, meaning a military troop, was also widely used in the late Roman period, referring to the standard in the form of a dragon (e.g., Them. Or. 18. 219a, Lib. Or. I. 144); it originally meant a troop of 1000 men (Lucian Quomodo hist. conscr.

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[19] Régészeti kézikönyv, 60, j. 36, 239, j. 6, Zs. Visy, Cotini in Pannonia. Specimina Nova 9, 1993, 8–12, FPA 1, 70–72, 262–263, Kovács 2007, 113–115, Nr. 74.

[20] H. Mihăescu, La romanité dans le Sud-est de l'Europe. București 1993, 393–394.

29).[21] The word was frequently used in the Byzantine period as well. Even if the motif of the praying unarmed soldiers is really in common with the version of Gregory of Nyssa,[22] one should still assume, contrary to Berwig,[23] that it was Gregory who knew the letter and not vice versa. The letter in its present form was composed by mixing the two versions. This also speaks against a later date.

Thus, the letter can be dated to the 4th century A.D. (after 311), but to the 5th century at the latest. What source the author of the letter relied on is also a most debated question. Two opinions have been formulated in the research so far: 1. the Quelle X of Harnack, or 2. the original and complete Dio, according to Mommsen and Domaszewski. The Quelle X theory, according to which an unknown source existed from the age of Marcus, needs further evidence. Mommsen correctly observed that all the persons and scenes in the letter occur in the surviving *excerpta* and summaries of Dio. That link is supported by several words that occur only in the letter and Dio-Xiphilinus, e.g., χάλαζα, περίστασις. The source of the Christian version is unknown, but the end of the persecutions appears in Tertullian (Ap. V. 25). Whatever sources the author of the letter used, his data seem to be reliable. Xiphilinus may have known the letter, as the person of the *eparkhos* who knows the Christians appears in both, a feature lacking in Eusebius and other Christian versions of the miracle.

Without further proof, the Quelle X may be considered only an assumption and therefore the complete Dio is more likely to have been the main source of the letter's author. In that case, the exact place of the miracle is known (in the land of the Cotini), the enemy (Quadi and Cotini) and the Roman units that were present (vexillations of the *leg. I adiutrix, X gemina* and *fretensis*). If that is true, then the place of the crossing scene on the column (scene III) may be identified with certainty; it can only be Brigetio, from where the land of the Cotini was the easiest to reach. It is unnecessary to seek that territory, with

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[21] Ibid., 397–398, Nr. 301, H. G. Liddel-R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996, 448, R. Grosse, Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantischen Themenverfassung. Berlin 1920, 125, PWRE V (1905) 1633.

[22] In XL mart. I. PG 46, 757: τότε καταλιπόντες οἱ γενναῖοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων βοήθειαν, ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἄμαχον καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐν τοῖς φοβεροῖς ἐπικαλέσασθαι συμμαχίαν.

[23] Berwig 1970, 136.

Domaszewski, in Moravia or elsewhere,[24] but in the mountain areas of the middle and eastern highlands where they could produce iron (cf. Tac. Ger. 43: *ferrum effodiunt* and Ptol. II.11.11: ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν 'Ορκύνιον Δρυμὸν Κούαδοι, ὑφ' οὓς τὰ σιδηρωρυχεῖα). It is hardly by chance that K. Pieta, the greatest expert, connects the archaeological culture of this rather extended area mostly with the Cotini and Osi.[25] From this it also follows that the scenes on Marcus' column start with the war against the Quadi.[26]

[24] E.g. Marcus-Säule, 111–112, Gnirs 1976, 62–63. Perhaps it would be unnecessary to enumerate all the iron ore mines in the Highlands in order to show that the Cotini should not be looked for in Moravia.

[25] K. Pieta, Die Púchov-Kultur. Nitra 1982, Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 23 (2003) 597–601. See also Szabó M., A keleti kelták. A késő vaskor a Kárpát-medencében. Budapest 2005, 68–70, 75.

[26] Domaszewski falsely identifies them as Marcomanni, and A.D. 171 cannot be the starting year.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JULIAN THEURGISTES AND THE RAIN MIRACLE

The most interesting and debated events of Marcus Aurelius' Marcomannic wars were the lightning and rain miracles. Besides the date of the rain miracle (every year between A.D. 171 and 174 has been proposed), the identity of the person who invoked it is still disputed. Christian authors (Apollinaris, Tertullian Ap. V.25, Ad Scap. 4, Eusebius, H.E. V.5.1–7, Chron. 222.1 [Karst], Hier. Chron. 206i [Helm]) suggested rather early that the Christian soldiers prayed to God. Pagan historiography, on the contrary, is far from that homogeneous: Cassius Dio (LXXI.8–10) ascribes the miracle to an Egyptian magus named Arnuphis through Hermes Aerios, whereas the official version suggested by Marcus' column (scene XVI), which is attested by Tertullian (Ad. Scap. 4), regarded Jupiter as the helper. Against previously formulated opinions (and not as a counterpart of the Christian version in the second half of the 4th century A.D.), it was suggested rather early that the miracle had been invoked by the personal prayer of Marcus Aurelius. That version is preserved not only in the late ancient sources (Themistius Or. XV. 191b, XXIV. 21, Claudian VI. cons. Hon. 348–350, HA v. Marci 24,4), but also by the author of book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, a hellenized Jew (XII.194–200) who worked shortly after the death of Severus Alexander (A.D. 235). Besides those mentioned above, the name of Julian Theurgist, a Chaldean magus, has also been proposed.[1] Here I scrutinise that version of the rain miracle.

As far as ancient sources tell, Julian was the most famous and celebrated Chaldean in late antiquity.[2] The *Oracula Chaldaea* are attributed to him, a work that was, according to tradition, dictated to him and

[1] Fowden 1987, 90–94.

[2] PWRE X (1919) 15–17, Der neue Pauly 6 (1999) 9, Dodds 1951, 283–285, Lewy 1978, 3–5, R. B. E. Smith, Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate. London-New York 1995, 91–113, S. Iles Johnston, Rising to the occasion: Theurgic ascent in its cultural milieu. In: Envisioning magic: A Princeton seminar and symposium. Leiden 1997, 169, 172–173, 177, P. Athanassiadi, The Chaldean oracles: theology and theurgy. In: Pagan monotheism in late Antiquity. Oxford-New York 1999, 149–184, on the rain miracle: 162, N. Janowitz, Icons of power: ritual practices in late Antiquity. University Park (Pennsylvania) 2002, 6–8.

his father by Hekate-Psyche and Apollo, i.e., it is a θεοπαράδοτον, a divinely given writing (Mar. v. Procli 26, Procl. In Crat. 122).[3] This work, written in hexameter and dealing with cosmological topics rather than oracles, did not survive; only fragments preserved by Proclus (through Psellus) and Damascius (225 fragments altogether) have been collected (W. Kroll, H. Lewy, E. Des Places). The *Oracula* themselves gained real importance only when Neoplatonism recognized the usefulness of its cosmological doctrines (the First Intellect, the Father, the Second Intellect, the Demiurge creating the material world and the intermediate Spirit/Psyche, Hecate), and the doctrines referring to the spirit and its ascension. Commentaries on that work were written some hundred years later, first by Porphyry (*Suda* P 2098), his follower Iamblichus (Damasc. De princip. I.86+De mysteriis), and later by Proclus (Mar. v. Procli 26), all of them unfortunately lost, although Psellus preserved many of them, especially the work of Proclus.[4] The popularity of Julian's works is shown by the fact that even Julian Apostata expressed his admiration for him (Or. VIII.172d), and asked for a copy of Iamblichus' works about him in one of his letters (Ep. 12).[5] Little is known about the life and works of Julian except for the data in the *Suda*, discussed below. The only thing that seems certain is that he was the son of a magus with the same name who was active during Trajan's reign (*Suda* I 334). Their epithet, ὁ Χαλδαῖος, does not refer to their ethnic group but rather to their profession (cf. the presumably false information of Porph.

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[3] Der neue Pauly 9 (2000) 2, W. Kroll, De oraculis Chaldaicis. Breslau 1894, E. des Places (ed.), Oracles chaldaiques, avec un choix de commentaires anciens. Paris 1971.

[4] Cf. Lewy 1978, 68–76, 449–456, 473–479.

[5] Ep. 12. Πρίσκῳ. Περὶ τοῦ τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα πρός με ἥκειν, εἴπερ διανοῇ, νῦν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς βούλευσαι καὶ προθυμήθητι· τυχὸν γὰρ ὀλίγον ὕστερον οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σχολὴν ἄγω. Τὰ Ἰαμβλίχου πάντα μοι τὰ εἰς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ζήτει· δύνασαι δὲ μόνος· ἔχει γὰρ ὁ τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς γαμβρὸς εὐδιόρθωτα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ σφάλλομαι, καὶ σημεῖόν τί μοι, ἡνίκα τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔγραφον, ἐγένετο θαυμάσιον. Ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ διαθρυλλείτωσαν οἱ Θεοδώρειοι καὶ τὰς σὰς ἀκοὰς ὅτι ἄρα φιλότιμος ὁ θεῖος ἀληθῶς καὶ μετὰ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Πλάτωνα τρίτος Ἰάμβλιχος· εἰ δὲ τολμηρὸν πρός σε τὴν αὑτοῦ διάνοιαν φανερὰν ποιεῖν, ὡς ἕπεται τοῖς ἐνθουσιῶσιν, οὐ παράλογος ἡ συγγνώμη· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ μὲν Ἰάμβλιχον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, περὶ δὲ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐν θεοσοφίᾳ μέμηνα, καὶ νομίζω τοὺς ἄλλους, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, μηθὲν εἶναι πρὸς τούτους. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συναγωγῶν ἃς ἐποιήσω, τοσοῦτόν σοι λέγω· πεποίηκάς με ψευδεπίγραφον εἶναί σου μαθητήν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τύριος [Μάξιμος] εἰς βιβλία [μὲν] πλείονα τῆς λογικῆς ὀλίγα δυεῖν εἶπε, σὺ δέ με δι' ἑνὸς βιβλίου τῆς Ἀριστοτελικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐποίησας ἴσως δὴ καὶ βάκχον, ἀλλ' οὔ τι ναρθηκοφόρον. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, παραγενομένῳ σοι πολλὰ πάνυ τοῦ πέρυσι χειμῶνος ἐξελέγξει πάρεργα.

De reg. 29, preserved in Aug. De civit. Dei X. 9: *vir in Chaldaea bonus* [cf. X.32]),[6] as the ethnic name lost its original sense after the Persian conquest and was used for wise Mesopotamian priests. Later, astrologers of all kinds called themselves Chaldeans for the sake of greater credibility during the Roman imperial period.[7] Julian the younger worked during the reign of Marcus Aurelius:

> Joan. Malal. 282. ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ 'Ιουλιανὸν τὸν Χαλδαῖον τὸν μέγαν ἐθαυμάζετο.

Other authors accepted the date from the period of Marcus Aurelius, and therefore one may rightly doubt that it was a later invention: Proclus: In remp. II.123: οἱ ἐπὶ Μάρκου θεουργοί, In Crat. 122: οἱ ἐπὶ Μάρκου γενομένοι θεουργοί (cf. in Tim. 3.124.32, 3.27.10, Johannes Lydus Mens. IV.53, Schol. Lucian. Philops. 12 (IV.224), Arnob. Adv. Nat. I.52.1). Psellus refers to him elsewhere, besides a passage (Script. Min. I.446) discussed below at length (Script. Min. I. 247, 23), as ὁ ἐπὶ Μάρκου 'Ιουλιανὸς. The date from Trajan's period, given in another passage of Psellus (Script. Min. I.241,29) may refer to the father, although it undoubtedly speaks of the author of the *Oracula*:

> Or. I.287–289. 'Ιουλιανὸς δέ τις ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ Τραιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ἔπεσι τὰ τούτων ἐξέθετο δόγματα, ἃ δὴ καὶ λόγιά φασιν οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων σεμνύνοντες.

Stories about his wonders are preserved in Christian authors, too. In Sozomenus' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (H. E. I.18.7), the magus can split a stone by a magic spell.

> H. E. 1.18.7. ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ ἑνὸς τὸν λόγον ἐν ὀνόματι 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν 'Αλέξανδρος, ἐπιτάττω σοι μὴ λαλεῖν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτίκα τὸ στόμα πεδηθεὶς ἐσιώπα. ἆρ' οὖν δίκαιον ἀναλογίσασθαι, πότερον μεῖζον ἐν παραδόξοις ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα φιλόσοφον, οὕτω ῥᾳδίως ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ λόγου ἢ λίθον βίᾳ λόγου τῇ χειρὶ διελεῖν, ὃ πρός τινων ἐπὶ 'Ιουλιανῷ τῷ καλουμένῳ Χαλδαίῳ κεκομπολογῆσθαι ἀκήκοα;[8]

According to another, even more interesting, story found in a collection of questions and answers attributed to Anastasius Sinaita (Quaest. et resp. PG 89.281a–b), Julian stopped the plague immediately during

[6] Lewy 1978, 286, n. 106.
[7] Lewy 1978, 425–428, Fowden 1987, 91–92.
[8] PWRE X (1919) 15, Lewy 1978, 287, n. 109, Fowden 1987, 91.

the reign of Domitianus in competition with Apuleius and Apollonius of Tyana.[9]

> PG 89.281a–b. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Πολέιος οἱ μάγοι ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως φαντασίας εἰργάσαντο, ὧν μία ἐργασία τοιαύτη φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἀνδρῶν διηγήμεσιν. Λοιμικῆς ποτε νόσου καταλαβούσης τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ πάντων σποράδην ἀπολλυμένων, προὐτρέποντο οἱ μάγοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μεγιστάμενων αὐτοῦ βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει ἀπολλυμενῇ ...Ἀποκριθεὶς καὶ ὁ ἀκροθήνιος παρ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ πλεῖον ἐγγίων τῷ διαβολῷ διὰ τῆς ματαιότητος, Ἰουλιανὸς, ἔφη, Ἐντὸς ιε´ ἡμερῶν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπωλλύται, μὴ περιμέᾳουσα τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν βοήθειαν. Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τρίτον ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παυέσθω τῆς λοιμικῆς φθορᾶς. Καὶ δὴ ἐπαύθη. Ὡς οὖν λοιπὸν παρακληθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, κατέπαυσε καὶ ἄλλων δύο μερῶν τὸ τάχος τῆς νόσου.

The epidemic endangering the whole city (and the mention of Apuleius) makes it probable that the original story was about the plague in the time of Marcus Aurelius.[10] Julian, who won the competition, stopped the plague first in a third of the city, then in the entire city.[11] Furthermore, there were stories about both Juliani according to which they were also able to summon the souls of the dead (e.g., that of Plato at the birth of the elder Julian's son) (Procl. Remp. 2.123.9, Psellus De aurea catena Homeri 217, 2–7).[12]

The *Suda* gives a short biography of Julian:

> Suda I 334. Ἰουλιανός, Χαλδαῖος, φιλόσοφος, πατὴρ τοῦ κληθέντος θεουργοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ. ἔγραψε περὶ δαιμόνων βιβλία δ. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἐστι φυλακτήριον πρὸς ἕκαστον μόριον, ὁποῖα τὰ τελεσιουργικὰ Χαλδαικά.
>
> Ἰουλιανός, ὁ τοῦ προλεχθέντος υἱός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς Θεουργικά, Τελεστικά, Λόγια δι' ἐπῶν· καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης κρύφια τυγχάνουσιν. ὅτι τοῦτόν φασι δίψει ποτὲ καμνόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐξαίφνης ποιῆσαι νέφη τε ἀγερθῆναι ζοφώδη καὶ ὄμβρον ἀφεῖναι λάβρον ἅμα βρονταῖς τε καὶ

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[9] Cf. M. Richard, Opera minora 3. Turnhout 1977, Nr. 64, Lewy 1978, 3, n. 1, Dodds 1951, 285, n. 24.

[10] J. F. Gilliam, The plague under Marcus Aurelius. AJPh 82, 1961, 225–251 = Die Pest unter Marc Aurel. In: R. Klein. Marc Aurel. Wege der Forschung 550. Darmstadt 1979, 144–175.

[11] Julian and Apuleius are mentioned together in another passage of Psellus, too: Allatius, De templis Graecorum. p. 177, Script. Min. I. p. 446, 26. Cf. PWRE X (1919) 15, Dodds 1951, 285, n. 18, 24, Lewy 1978, 287, n. 109, Fowden 1987, 91, n. 41.

[12] Lewy 1978, 129, n. 140, 224, n. 195, 225, n. 197, 253, 312.

> σέλασιν ἐπαλλήλοις· καὶ τοῦτο σοφίᾳ τινὶ ἐργάσασθαι Ἰουλιανόν. οἱ δέ φασιν Ἄρνουφιν, τὸν Αἰγύπτιον φιλόσοφον, τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸ θαυμάσιον.

According to some hypotheses, information on the life and works of the magus stems from the work of Hesychius of Miletus.[13] The *Suda* first ascribes the rain miracle to Julian the Younger in the second part of the entry and also in the entry on "Arnuphis." According to that variant, when the Romans were tortured by thirst, dark clouds gathered with thunder and lightning, caused by the secret art of Julian.[14] The entry on "Arnuphis" only mentions that there is a version in which Julian invoked the miracle.

> Suda A 3987. Ἄρνουφις οὗτος Αἰγύπτιος ἦν φιλόσοφος, ὃς συνὼν Μάρκῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων, τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, δίψει ποτὲ καμνόντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαίφνης ποιῆσαι νέφη τε ἀγερθῆναι ζοφώδη καὶ ὄμβρον ἀφεῖναι λάβρον ἅμα βρονταῖς τε καὶ σέλασιν ἐπαλλήλοις. καὶ τοῦτο σοφίᾳ τινὶ ἐργάσασθαι Ἄρνουφιν. οἱ δέ φασιν Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Χαλδαῖον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τὸ θαυμάσιον.

Literal correspondences make it obvious that the *Suda* took the data on Julian's rain miracle from the entry on "Arnuphis" that follows Cassius Dio (LXXI.8–10). This is made clear by Dio's expression συνὼν Μάρκῳ (LXXI.8.4).[15]

Psellus' work, Πρὸς τοὺς πόσα γένη τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων λόγων, is of much interest for the further Byzantine development of that version, making the story even more complicated. According to Psellus' version, Julian was with Marcus' army during the campaign against the Dacians(!) and the magus forced the enemy to withdraw from the borders using a human face made of clay (the statue of Hecate?),[16] and as they approached, he fended them off with lightning. Such a statue was an indispensable requisite of the Chaldeans' art, like many other things (e.g., *iynx*).[17]

Psellus Πρὸς τοὺς πόσα γένη τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων λόγων. In: Script. Min. I.446 = E. des Places (ed.), Oracles chaldaiques, avec un choix de commentaires anciens. Paris 1971, 222.

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[13] PWRE IVA (1932) 706–708.
[14] Lewy 1978, 4, n. 2, Dodds 1951, 285, n. 22.
[15] PWRE IVA (1932) 703, Fowden 1987, 91–92.
[16] Lewy 1978, 247–248.
[17] Lewy 1978, 240–257.

> κατάγουσί τε τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς θεοὺς θελκτηρίοις ᾠδαῖς καὶ δεσμοῦσι καὶ λύουσιν, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἐπτάκτιν ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ὅρκοις καταναγκάσας μὴ προσομιλῆσαι τῷ θεουργῷ οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ συστρατεύσας Μάρκῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ Δάκας στρατεύοντι, ὃς δὴ ἕτερά τε πολλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ συγκατώρθωσε καὶ τοὺς Δάκας τῶν Ῥωμαικῶν ὁρίων ἀπώσατο. πρόσωπον γὰρ ἀνθρώπου πλασάμενος ἐκ πηλοῦ ἔθηκε βλέπειν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὰν αὐτῷ πλησιάσαιεν, κεραυνοῖς ἀφορήτοις ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεμπομένοις ἠλαύνοντο.

Psellus mixed the stories and dates of the two Juliani here, as he himself mentions (Script. Min. I, 241,29, 247,23 = p. 219, 223) that the father worked under Trajan and the son under Marcus. Maybe one could attribute the story to the elder Julian, dating it to the age of the Dacian wars, but the necessity of keeping the enemy away from the borders better characterizes the first period of the Marcomannic wars (cf. the story about stopping the plague).[18] It is possible that the account of the entry on "Julian" in the *Suda* ascribing the rain miracle to Julian goes back to that story. If the entire story refers to the younger Julian, that (too) may have been the starting point of the new version of the rain+lightning miracle, which is surely the latest one. Psellus' source might have been Proclus (through Procopius of Gaza): Schol. Lucian. Philops. 12.[19] From Porphyry, the successful intervention of Apuleius was also known to Augustine (De civ. Dei X. 9):

> *querelam de hac re Chaldaei nescio cuius expromens: Conqueritur, inquit, uir in Chaldaea bonus, purgandae animae magno in molimine frustratos sibi esse successus, cum uir ad eadem potens tactus inuidia adiuratas sacris precibus potentias alligasset, ne postulata concederent. Ergo et ligauit ille, inquit, et iste non soluit.*[20]

The question arises when and why the line of Julian was brought into the story. Surely it did not happen in late antiquity before the beginning of the 5th century, as neither of the above sources mentions it, although such a remarkable event would almost certainly have been noted about him.[21] According to Dodds Julian's appearance of can

[18] Of course, the beginning of Domitian's Dacian wars cannot be excluded, either.

[19] L. G. Westerink, Texts and studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine literature: collected papers. Amsterdam 1980, 1–6, J. Whittaker, Proclus, Procopius, Psellus and the scholia on Gregory Nazianzen. VChr 29, 1975, 309–313.

[20] G. Luck, Theurgy and form of worships in Neoplatonism. In: Religion, science and magic: in concert and in conflict. Oxford 1989, 185–186, 198.

[21] J. Guey dealt with the person of Julianus as well, who suggested—based on the Suda—that the magus may have cooperated with Arnuphis in the preparation of the miracle: Guey 1949, 107–.

be connected to Tettius Iulianus, who was victorious at Tapae in the Dacian campaign of Domitian (Dio LXVII.10.1–3).[22] That is, however, hardly tenable, as Iulianus won the battle naturally, without a miracle.[23] Another opinion[24] holds that it comes from the last (datable) work of Claudian, in his panegyric to the 6th consulship of Honorius in 404, where Julian's role in the miracle is first mentioned.

> Claudian, VI. cons. Hon. 342–350. *Laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem / Decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat / Ambustus sonipes; hic tabescente solutus / Subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis / Candui et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses.*
>
> *Tum contenta polo mortalis nescia teli / Pugna fuit: Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu / Armavere deos, seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis / Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.*

Claudian chose Marcus Aurelius, the most popular emperor of late Antiquity, to compare with Honorius, the rain miracle entered his writing in reference to Marcus Aurelius.[25] The poet states deliberately in the context of the miracle that he thinks it was the *Marci mores* of the two possibilities that merited divine help. According to supporters of the identification with Julian, the adjective "Chaldean" refers to Julian.[26] This is, however, not necessarily the case, as the adjective agrees not with the adjective *magus*, standing in the ablative, but with the plural nominative *carmina*. Thus, the adjective does not refer to the ethnic group or the name of the *magus*, and *carmen Chaldaeum* only means "magic chant."[27] Moreover, *Chaldaei* and *magi* are clearly separated in several sources (e.g., v. Hel. 9.1) and Neoplatonist authors consequently avoided using the word *magus* in connection with the Chaldeans. Claudian, in turn,

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[22] Dodds 1951, 285.

[23] B. W. Jones, The emperor Domitian. London-New York 1992, 142.

[24] Berwig 1970, 146–148, Fowden 1987, 92, Klein 1989, 129–131.

[25] S. A. Stertz, Marcus Aurelius as ideal emperor in Late-Antique Greek thought. CW 70, 1977, 433ff.

[26] According to another, even less grounded opinion, Claudius, who was suspected by Christian authors of sympathizing with paganism (cf. August. De civit. Dei 5, 26, Oros. Hist. contra pag. 7.35), followed the pagan version of the miracle, while Chaldeans should be understood as referring to the Christians: Griechische und Lateinische Quelle zur Frühgeschichte Mitteluropas IV. Hrsg. von J. Herrmann. Berlin 1992, 486. Claudius, who was working in the Christian court and dedicated most of his works to Christians, can hardly have had the audacity to do that: A. Cameron, Claudian. Poetry and propaganda at the court of Honorius. Oxford 1970, 190–227.

[27] Ch. T. Lewis-Ch. Short, A Latin dictionary. Oxford 1879, 324.

uses the adjective Chaldaeus for some kind of Oriental, i.e., Chaldean magi, never identifying them with Egyptian sorcerers: e.g., Paneg. de quarto cons. Hon. 143–148.

> *Tibi corniger Hammon / Et dudum taciti rupere silentia Delphi, / Te Persae cecinere magi, te sensit Etruscus / Augur et inspectis Babylonius horruit astris, / Chaldaei stupuere senes Cumanaque rursus / Intonuit rupes, rabidae delubra Sibyllae* (cf. also In Ruf. I.145–153, In cons. Stil. I.194, App. XXI.3).

Thus, in this case there are not necessarily grounds for identifying the unnamed magus with Julian. One can even think of Arnuphis, in the vein of Cassius Dio, as Dio similarly called him a magus (LXXI.8.4). It can also be assumed that Claudian knew Cassius Dio's work,[28] which is supported by a similar description of the miracle, the simultaneous appearance of the rain and lightning, knowledge of the magus line, and the use of a similar expression (*flammeus imber*-χάλαζα [see above]). The first of these can only have been taken from Dio. Claudian, an Alexandrian poet, would hardly have let the magus' Egyptian origin go unnoted. Maybe he had the story about the magus in his mind (but without the name), and, therefore, it was natural for him to connect it to the Chaldeans (as he did elsewhere in his poems: cf. above, and De cons. Stil. I.193–194). Claudian may have had several reasons for using the epithet *Chaldaeus*. Maybe he already knew the biography *HA v. Heliogabali*, which had been written only a few years before[29] (or its source, where biographies of Emperor Marius Maximus were included as well), according to which Marcus, his serious reservations notwithstanding (cf. Med. I.6), made use of the spells and oath formulae of the Chaldeans and the magi in order to defeat the Marcomanni:

> HA v. Hel. 9.1–2. *cum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quod Antoninus pulcherrime proflig<a>rat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chald<a>eos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni p. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factu<m> carminibus et consecratione[m].*[30]

[28] Harnack 1894, 873, Berwig 1970, 147.

[29] N. H. Baynes, The Historia Augusta: its date and purpose. Oxford 1926, J. A. Straub, Heidnische Geschichtsapologetik in der christlichen Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Zeit und Tendenz der Historia Augusta. Bonn 1963, R, Syme, The Historia Augusta. A call of clarity. Bonn 1971.

[30] T. D. Barnes, Ultimus Antoninorum. In: BHAC 1970. Bonn 1972, 64–72, R. Syme, The end of Marcomanni. In: BHAC 1977/1978. Bonn 1980, 262–263 = Historia Augusta papers. Oxford 1983, 151–152, T. D. Barnes, The sources of the Historia Augusta. Coll. Latomus 158. Bruxelles 1978, 57, Lewy 1978, 4, n. 3, Fowden 1987, 92, Motschmann 2002, 138 Anm. 419, Kovács 2007, 47–48.

It is an important fact that the latter source does not speak of the rain miracle (GLQFM IV, 495), yet it properly characterizes the multitude of sorcerers who were present in Marcus' camp, including Alexander, Lucian's false prophet, Arnuphis (his presence should be considered as established by the inscription of Aquileia), and Julian the Chaldean (see the story of Psellus, above). In the biography of Marcus (or its source), he may also have read that Chaldeans had cured Faustina of her love for a gladiator:

> HA v. Marci 19.2–5: *Faustinam quondam, Pii filiam, Marci uxorem, cum gladiatores transire vidisset, unius ex his amore succensam, cum longa aegritudine 19.3 laboraret, viro de amore confessa<m>. quod cum ad C<h>ald<a>eos Marcus ret<t>ulisset, illorum fuisse consilium, ut occiso gladiatore sanguine illius sese Faustina subl<a>varet atque ita cum viro concumberet. quod cum esset factum, solutum quidem amorem, natum vero Commodum gladiatorem esse, non principem, qui mille prope pugnas publice populo inspectante gladiatorias imperator exhibuit, ut in vita eius docebitur.*

From the historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus (23.6.24) and the *vita Veri* (8.2) he may have known that the plague after the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus had also been caused by the Chaldeans: 23.6.24: *ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis labes primordialis exiluit.* This is important because in the story preserved by Anastasius Sinaita it was Julian himself who stopped the plague with his spell (Quaest. et resp. PG 89.252a–b). The above passage of the *vita Heliogabali* concerns the intent of the Marcomanni to start a war, which was averted through magic and theurgy. Due to the panic caused by the defeats suffered at the beginning of the Marcomannic wars, Marcus made use of the help of all kinds of seers and prophets in the city of Rome, introducing the *peregrini ritus* as well.

> HA v. Marci 13.1–2. *tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit; retardatusque bellica profectione sic celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies* (cf. 13.6 and Lucian Alex. Pseud. 48).[31]

The information in the *vita Heliogabali* can hardly refer to any other event. In my opinion there is another written source for the use of magic: the altar of the Egyptian magus, Arnuphis (called *hierogrammateus*

[31] J. Beaujeu, La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire. Paris 1955, 342–343, Rubin 1979, 371–373, K. B. Angyal, Peregrinus ritus in vita Marci (SHA) 13,1. ACD 7, 1971, 77–84, Tóth 1976, 47–48, Motschmann 2002, 104–115.

on the inscription) in Aquileia (AÉp 1934, 245 = SIRIS 613 = Inscriptiones Aquileiae 234). Therefore, the participation of Julian in the Marcomannic wars cannot be excluded based on other stories connected to him. Chapter 13 of the *vita Marci* (cited above) continues the description of the plague (13.3–5).[32]

If one assumes that the Julian line appeared only later, there is another piece of data about the way the mixing might have happened. If the *Suda* is the first mention, then before the middle of the 10th century the only thing to be known about Julian was that he lived under Marcus and performed some miraculous acts during the Marcomannic wars (1. stopping the plague; 2. keeping the enemy away from the borders with the help of lightning). If the author had no exact information about the character of the miracle, it would have been natural for him to link it to the most celebrated event of the war, namely, the rain miracle. This may have been supported by the fact that there were similar stories about Julian Apostata, who was acquainted with theurgy through his initiation (cf. Ep. 12 p. 19, Eun. Vita Soph. p. 50, Psellus Quaenam sunt p. 41, Greg. Naz. Orat. IV in Iul. I.55),[33] and trusted (perhaps too much: cf. Amm. 25.4.17)[34] to interpret signs and dreams (Ep. 17, Amm. 21.1.6–7; 2.2, 25.2.3–4; 8, Soz. H. E. III.1).[35] According to such a story he was able to stop an earthquake (Lib. Or.

[32] Julian's participation in the Marcomannic wars might be supported by another piece of evidence as well: the Latin translation of a book attributed to Julian of Laodicea, under the title Iul. Laod. Mathematici ad dominum Marcum imperatorem de bello: W. Kroll, De oraculis Chaldaicis. Breslau 1894, 72, Anm. 1, PWRE 10 (1919) 14–15. This Julian wrote a book with the title Περὶ πολέμου. If the author is not the astrologer who was born in 497 (P. Stoobant, La date où vivait l'astrologue Iulian de Laodicea. Bull. de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques de l'Acad. Royal de Belge 1903, 554–574) and the book is not a humanist forgery, it is also possible that the author is Julian the Chaldean. In that case, a reference to the Marcomannic wars is obvious.

[33] J. Bidez, La vie de l'Empereuer Julien. Paris 1965^2, 71, 79–80, Lewy 1978, 248, n. 76.

[34] Here, also, he followed his model (cf. e.g. Iul. Caes., Amm. 16.1.4, 22.5.4), Marcus Aurelius: Amm. 25.4.17. *linguae fusioris et admodum raro silentis, praesagiorum sciscitationi nimiae deditus, ut aequiperare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum, superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves iam defuturos, Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id accipimus dictum*:

οἱ Βόες οἱ λευκοὶ Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι χαίρειν
ἄν πάλιν νικήσῃς, ἄμμες ἀπωλόμεθα.

Their connection: D. Hunt, Marcus Aurelius and Julian. in: Ethics and rhetorics. Classical Essays for D. Russel on his seventy-fifth birthday. Oxford 1996, 287–298.

[35] Bowersock 1978, 29–30, 78–93.

XVIII.177).[36] It is not by chance that Libanius called the emperor διὰ πάντων σωτήρ (Or. XVIII.176) while he was still alive. After his death, he was worshipped and people prayed to him (Or. XVIII.304, Socr. H. E. III.23).[37] A similar legend is told by Libanius, according to which, at the end of 362, after the drought and the famine that followed,[38] the emperor tried to stop the rain from menacing Antiochia and the harvest[39] (in spite of his anger against the citizens [cf. Misopog. 370c, Amm. 22.9–14.3, Socr. H. E. III.17, Soz. H. E. V.19]):[40]

> Libanius Or. XV.71. ταῦτα χαλάσαντος ἦν, ταῦτα οὐ τελέως μισοῦντος, ταῦτα προσδοκῶντος μεταβολήν οὐ γὰρ δὴ πόλιν ἀνιάτως ἔχουσαν ἔμελλες φιλοπόνως φρουρήσειν, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνα μισοῦντος ἦν ὄμβρων ἀμετρίαν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνείργειν καὶ ῥύεσθαι τὴν γῆν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν κινδύνων, ὅτε τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον ὑετὸν ὑπαίθριος τῷ βωμῷ προσεστὼς ἐδέξω τῷ σώματι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τῷ νεουργῷ συνειλεγμένων ὀρόφῳ δεδιότων μὴ τοῖς καρποῖς βοηθῶν αὐτὸς ἰατροῦ δεηθῇς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἀπέστησέ <σε> τῆς βοηθείας.

The same motifs (the emperor persistently praying in the rain while others stand under a roof) occur in Libanius when he speaks of Constantinople in his funeral oration, written in 365, two years after the emperor's death (Oratio XVIII): After the earthquake in December A.D. 362 (Amm. 22.13.3), the emperor, who had successfully prayed to Poseidon to drive away the danger menacing the city, was left alone in the pouring rain, but he stood fast and did not fall ill despite the heavy rain:

> Or. XVIII.177. ἔσειε μὲν ὁ Ποσειδῶν τὴν μεγάλην ἐν Θρᾴκῃ πόλιν, ἀγγελίαι δὲ ἐφοίτων, ὡς, εἰ μή τις διαλλάξει τὸν θεόν, περιέσται τῆς

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[36] A. D. Nock, Deification and Julian. JRS 47, 1957, 115–123.

[37] Ibid. Or. XVIII.304. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰκόνων ἐμνήσθην, πολλαὶ πόλεις ἐκεῖνον τοῖς τῶν θεῶν παραστήσαντες ἕδεσιν ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶσι, καί τις ἤδη καὶ παρ’ ἐκείνου δι’ εὐχῆς ᾔτησέ τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠτύχησεν. οὕτως ἀτεχνῶς παρ’ ἐκείνους τε ἀναβέβηκε καὶ τῆς τῶν κρειττόνων δυνάμεως παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων μετείληφε. βέλτιστοι δὲ ἄρα ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄγγελον τῆς τελευτῆς μικροῦ καταλεύσαντες, ὡς θεοῦ καταψευδόμενον.

[38] P. Petit, Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C. Paris 1955, 109–122.

[39] Cf. Amm. 22.13.4: *eo anno sidere etiam tum instante brumali quarum incessit inopia metuenda, ut et rivi cassescerent quidam et fontes antehac aquarum copiosis pulsibus abundantes, sed in integrum postea restituti sunt.*

[40] PWRE X (1919) 55–58, Bowersock 1978, 103–105, P. Athanassiadi, The Chaldean oracles: theology and theurgy. In: Pagan monotheism in late Antiquity. Oxford-New York 1999, 162, n. 64, R. B. E. Smith, Julian's Gods: Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate. London-New York 1995, 93.

> πόλεως τὸ κακόν ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ κήπῳ καὶ τῷ σώματι δεχόμενος τὸν ὄμβρον τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ ταῖς ὀροφαῖς ὄντων τε καὶ ὁρώντων καὶ ἐκπληττομένων διακαρτερήσας ὁ δαιμόνιος εἰς δείλην ὀψίαν τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἐπράϋνε, τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον ἔλυσε, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην ἰόντες ἐμήνυον λογιζομένῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ᾗ ἔληξε τὸ κινοῦν, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι λυπηρὸν οὐδὲν ὁ ὄμβρος ἐνέβαλε.

Although the motif of stopping rain is quite the contrary of the story of Marcus' rain miracle, the name of Julian and the story related to him could still have contributed to the formation of a new version of the rain miracle. The ability to make rain was certainly counted among the usual practices of the Chaldeans, as Marinus writes in his *vita Procli*:

> v. Procl. 28.686–688. ὄμβρους τε ἐκίνησε ἴυγγα[41] τίνα προσφόρως κινήσας, καὶ αὐχμῶν ἐξαισίων τὴν 'Αττικὴν ἠλευθέρωσεν.[42]

It is almost certain that this "ability" of the Chaldeans contributed to the connection of the rain miracle and the person of Julian.

The facts are, then:

1. Julian probably lived in the time of Marcus.
2. According to Psellus he may have participated in the Marcomannic campaign with Marcus.
3. Before the *Suda* no author had attributed the rain miracle to Julian.
4. In a passage in Psellus' (who knew the stories about Julian well) *Historia Syntomos* about the rain miracle, it was not Julian who invoked the rain miracle:

Historia Syntomos 32, 267^r, 55–64, pp. 20–22:

> 'Αμέλει τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας καὶ γένη ἕτερα πολέμοις μακροῖς ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ὑποφόρους τῇ 'Ρώμῃ πεποίηκε. Καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δὴ ὅσιος ὢν εἰκὸς Ἕλληνι, ὄμβρον τε δι' εὐχῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατήνεγκε διψῶσι τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοὺς πολεμίους κεραυνοῖς ἐξαπιναίως ἀπώσατο.

To sum up, we may conclude that Marcus' the rain miracle was attributed to Julian, the Chaldean magus, only very late; it is first attested in the case of the compiler of the *Suda*. As is illustrated by the story of stopping the plague, several fabulous deeds from the period of Marcus

[41] Cf. Lewy 1978, 249–252.
[42] Ibid., 162, n. 63, Lewy 1978, 251, n. 84.

Aurelius may be linked to the person of the Chaldean magus, but the rain miracle cannot be proved to have been among them, not even in Late Antiquity. It is possible that the mingling of the accounts was due to the miraculous abilities of Julian Apostata; this possibility is also supported by the identical names. The author/compiler of the *Suda* apparently had no earlier source at hand when he copied the content of the entry on "Arnuphis" verbatim for that of Julian, hence it is also possible that he is the one responsible for the mistake.[43] It is striking that in Proclus and Psellus the rain miracle is not mentioned in the stories about Julian, and Psellus, continuing the pagan tradition, attributes it explicitly to Marcus Aurelius.

[43] Here I cannot scrutinize the possibility that the compiler of the *Suda*, or his source, read the story in Claudian and attributed it to Julian based on the adjective *Chaldaeus* which occurs there. The use of Claudian, although he has an entry in the *Suda* (K 1706), cannot be proved.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LIGHTNING AND RAIN MIRACLES

The weather miracles that happened during the northern campaigns of Marcus Aurelius did not become famous by chance, even in antiquity. In the previous chapters, I have given an overview of the sources and the history of research into these events. Here, I shall summarise the events themselves, scrutinizing the primary sources.

Ancient sources on the miracles have been examined by several scholars, their stemma has been sketched by Harnack and Berwig.[1] Until now, however, surprisingly little attention has been paid to what primary sources the earliest authors may have used. Trajan (whose *Commentarii* are unfortunately lost except for one fragment: HRR II p. 117) commemorated the events of his campaign; his writings may have been used for designing his column. Marcus Aurelius, however, did not commemorate the events of his campaign, so they cannot have served as sources for his own commemorative column.[2] What can be said concerning the source of the rain miracle is that a later interpolation by Cassius Dio lacks evidence; besides Dio (LXXI.10.5), Tertullian (Ap. V.25) mentions the emperor's letter to the senate, in which he described and explained the events. Of course, Tertullian cannot have read the original letter, but, as was made clear by Mommsen, the letters of the emperors were deposited in the *tabularium* and published in the *Acta publica*.[3] Would such an act have been unusual for Marcus? Similar accounts are mentioned in other sources: Dio LXXI.17, 27, 30.1, HA v. Marci 14.8.

Although little is known of the data available to contemporary or near contemporary historians, one source of unique importance on the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus has been preserved. The correspondence of Cornelius Fronto contains a letter from Verus (II.3. Haines

[1] Harnack 1894, 871, Berwig 1970, 150.
[2] A. Birt, Die Buchrolle in der antiken Kunst. Leipzig 1907, 269–315, E. Bethe, Buch und Bild im Altertum. Leipzig 1945, 80–83, Becatti 1960, 21–24. On the contrary: K. Weitzmann, Illustrations in roll and codex. Princeton 1947, id., Narration in early Christendom. AJA 61, 1957, 83–91.
[3] Mommsen 1894, 92.

II. p. 194)[4] in which the emperor asks his former tutor, with whom both emperors maintained a continuous correspondence, to write the history of Verus' campaign. Here, the emperor also enumerates what kind of information he can provide on the events:[5]

(1) he offers to write his own memoirs if needed: *Quod si me quoque voles aliquem commentarium facere, designa mihi qualem velis faciam et ut iubes faciam*;
(2) he can send copies of the reports (*litterae*) of his commanders;
(3) he can also send his commands (*litterae*) to the commanders;
(4) he has persuaded his commanders to write their memoirs (*commentarii*);
(5) he may also provide pictures (depicting scenes of the campaign): *Quod si picturas quoque quasdam desideraveris, poteris a Fulviano accipere.*

Unfortunately, Fronto died before he could carry out this task,[6] yet the letter offers valuable insight into the official sources of the Antonine age. These would not have changed too much for the period of the Marcomannic wars, except that Marcus could hardly have undertaken to write his *Commentarii*, as his spare time was spent in writing the *Meditationes*. Nevertheless his letters to the senate were a reliable source and Cassius Dio may well have used them for his work.[7]

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[4] *Illi suis litteris subdiderunt. Ea vero quae post meam profectionem gesta sunt, ex litteris a<d> me scriptis, a negotio cuique praepositis ducibus cognosces. Earum exemplaria Sallustius noster, nunc Fulvianus, dabit. Ego vero, ut et consiliorum meorum rationes commemorare possis, meas quoque litteras, quibus quidquid gerendum esset demonstratur, mittam tibi.*

Quod si picturas quoque quasdam desideraveris, poteris a Fulviano accipere. Equidem quo magis te quasi in rem praesentem inducerem, mandavi Cassio Avidio Martioque Vero commentarios quosdam mihi facerent, quos tibi mittam, ex quibus et mores hominum et sensum eorum cognosces. Quod si me quoque voles aliquem commentarium facere, designa mihi qualem velis faciam et ut iubes faciam. Quidvis enim subire paratus sum, dum a te res nostrae inlustrentur. Plane non contempseris et orationes ad senatum et adlocutiones nostras ad exercitum. Mittam tibi et sermones meos cum barbaris habitos; multum haec tibi conferent.

Unam rem volo non quidem demonstrare discipulus magistro, sed existimandam dare. Circa causas et initia belli diu commoraberis, et etiam ea quae nobis absentibus male gesta sunt. Tarde ad nostra venies. Porro necessarium puto, quanto ante meum adventum superiores Parthi fuerint, dilucere, ut quantum nos egerimus appareat. An igitur debeas, quo modo πεντηκονταετίαν Θουκυδίδης *explicuit, illa omnia corripere, an vero paulo altius dicere, nec tamen ita ut mox nostra dispandere, ipse dispicies.*

In summa meae res gestae tantae sunt, quantae sunt scilicet, quoiquoi modi sunt: tantae autem videbuntur, quantas tu eas videri voles.

See M. P. J. van den Hout, A commentary on the letters of M. Cornelius Fronto. Leiden 1999, 254, 280.

[5] Zwikker 1941, 10–12.

[6] Birley 1987, 146.

[7] Millar 1964, 34–38.

The pictures are the most interesting among the sources offered to Fronto. The technique of Greek picture chronicles (e.g., the *Tabula Iliaca*), which served mainly to perpetuate epic stories, may have been used to depict historical events, particularly those that happened in the East.[8] Still, the main sources for the columns (and arches and historical reliefs)[9] may have been the series of pictures depicting battle scenes, conquered peoples, and landscapes that were shown at triumphs from the beginning of the Republican period (cf. e.g. Ios. Fl. Bel. Iud. VII.5.5 or Ovid. Ep. ex Ponto II, 1.37–40).[10] As was recently pointed out in the case of scene L of Trajan's column, the surveys made by Roman military engineers/surveyors during campaigns, were among the antecedents of the *picturae*.[11] Similar pictures may have been installed by Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum after his victorious campaign against the Parthi (Her. III.9.12) (and later by Maximinus Thrax after his German campaign: Her. VII.2.8 [cf. the case of Heliogabalus: V.5.6, V.5.8]).[12] These picture chronicles could have provided a sufficient basis for the adornment of Trajan's column (whether or not it can be attributed to Apollodorus), and Marcus' similar column. In my opinion, the *picturae* mentioned by Verus may have been similar to the *graphe* seen by Themistius (Or. XV. 191b). This *graphe* was probably not Marcus' column itself,[13] but may have been a picture chronicle circulated in late Roman times in the eastern provinces, perhaps of a type similar to the source of the column. The original meaning of the

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[8] Zwikker 1941, 8–9.

[9] T. Hoelscher, Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentationskunst. Mitt.DAI 85, 1978, 315–357, id., Römische Siegesdenkmäler der späten Republik. In: Tainia. Festschrift für R. Hampe. Mainz 1980, 351–371, id., Die Geschichtsauffassung in der römischen Repräsentationskunst. JDAI 95, 1980, 265–321, G. Koeppel, The grand pictorial tradition of Roman historical representation during the Early Empire. In: ANRW II/12 (1982) 507–535, M. Oppermann, Römische Kaiserreliefs. Leipzig 1985.

[10] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Roma. L'arte romana nel centro del potere. Milano 2002, 110–115, E. Künzl, Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom. München 1988, 114–118.

[11] G. M. Koeppel, A military itinerarium on the Column of Trajan: Scene L. Mitt. DAI 87, 1980, 301–306.

[12] Hence the idea that these may have inspired the reliefs on the arch of Severus: F. Altheim, Die Krise der alten Welt im 3. Jahrhundert n. ZW. und ihre Ursachen III. Götter und Kaiser. Berlin-Dahlem 1943, 13, Z. Rubin, Dio, Herodian, and Severus' second Parthian war. Chiron 5, 1975, 419–441, esp. 425–431, Zimmermann 1999, 60, 228–231, 308–309, 317–319. In these cases Herodian used the same word γραφή: I.15.4, III.9.12, IV.2.7, IV.8.2, V.5.6, V.5.8, VII.2.8.

[13] Petersen 1894, 83–85.

word *γραφή* corresponds to such a drawing or painting.[14] The difference, however, is of great importance, as on the *graphe* Marcus himself figured in the story of the rain miracle, which supported the pagan branch of the story.

The sources of information on the rain miracle can be classified as follows:

a. The official branch: in the presence of the emperor, through his intercession, mostly with the help of Jupiter: Tertullian Ad. Scap. 4 (not mentioning Marcus), Dio (only in LXXI.10 [interpolatio?]), Themist. Or. XV.191b, XXXIV.21, Or. Sib. XII.194–200, HA v. Marci 24.4, Claudian, VI. cons. Hon. 339–350, Psellus Hist. Synt. 32, Georg. Acrop. Epitaphius in Ioannem Ducam 15 (the emperor is wrongly called Titus), depiction: scene XVI of the column of Marcus (pictures 152–154).
b. The Egyptian deity Hermes Aerios, with Arnuphis as intercessor: Cassius Dio LXXI.8–10, Suda A 3987, coins: mintings with the legend RELIG AVG on the reverse, some with the figure of Mercury in an Egyptian-style temple, end of A.D. 172–173: RIC III (1930) Nos. 285–285a: denarius, 308–309: denarius, 1070–1073: dupondius, 1074–1076 (with aedicula), 1077–1082: sestertius, second half of A.D. 174: 309: denarius, A.D. 175: 298: denarius.
c. Other gods: Dio LXXI.8.4.
d. Julian Theurgistes: *Suda* I 334, Psellus, Πρὸς τοὺς πόσα γένη τῶν φιλοσοφουμέων λόγων. In: E. des Places (ed.), Oracles chaldaiques, avec un choix de commentaires anciens. Paris 1971, 222.
e. An unnamed magus: Claudian, VI. cons. Hon. 348–350 (his source: HA v. Heliog. 9.1).
f. Christian version: Tertullian Apologia V.25, Ad Scap. 4, Euseb. Hist. Eccl. V.5.1–7, Chron. 222.1 (Karst), forged letter of Marcus Aurelius: In: A. Harnack, SBAW 1894, 878–879, Greg. Nyss. Enc. In XL mart. II. PG 46, 757C–759B, Rufinus Hist. Eccl. V.5, Hier. Chron. 206i (Helm), Oros. 7.15.8–9, Prosper Tiro Epit. Chron. ad ann. 173, Chronica Gallica Chron. Min. I 641, 372, Alexander Mon. Inventio crucis p. 4045–4048, Fredagrius Scholasticus Chron. II.37, Chron. Pasch. I p. 486 (Dindorf), Pseudo-Dionys. CSCO 104. SS 43 (1927) p. 127, 8–18, Georg. Mon. Chron. breve I.138, Sym. Log.

[14] H. G. Liddel – R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996, 359–360.

(Leon Gramm. 70.1), Landolf. VIII.144 p. 314, Xiphilinus 251, 22–24+260,6–262,5, Georg. Cedrenus 439.1, Marianus Scottus Chronica clara III.181–183, Hugo Flaviacensis Chronicon PL 154 (1853), 39, Excerptiones allegoricae VII.4, Zonaras XII.2, Synopsis Sathas (Theod. Scut.) p. 32,9ff, Acta Polyeucti Acta SS. Febr. II. p. 650, Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccl. IV.12, Ephraim Chronicon 129–139.

Date:
174: Dio (with the VIIth imperial acclamation of Marcus)
173: Jerome, Posper Tiro
172: Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Pseudo-Dionysius
171: *Chronicon Paschale.*

Lightning miracle: SHA v. Marci 24.4, scene XI of Marcus' Column.

Based on this data, the common origin of the whole story could have been a letter/report of Marcus Aurelius to the senate in 174 in which he gave an account of his victories and the events and informed them about his VIIth imperial acclamation. That letter, or its content, was known to Tertullian and Cassius Dio. The letter could hardly have contained only the description of the rain miracle nor is there evidence that Tertullian used a forged letter that circulated among Christians. What could the letter have contained? According to Cassius Dio, Marcus may have reported the victories leading to his imperial acclamation, mentioning the lightning and rain miracles that occurred during the same campaign (see scenes XI and XVI of the column). It is probable that the lightening miracle was mentioned as well, since the emperor himself had participated in it. It is certain that no specific god was named in the letter as the cause of the miracle or else it would not have become a debated topic. The expressions of Cassius Dio support this; according to him the miracle happened παρὰ θεοῦ (8.1, 10.5), οὐκ ἀθεεὶ (8.3), due to τὸ θεῖον (8.1).[15] Such formulations referring to an abstract deity occur elsewhere about Marcus. In the same work, the emperor says: LXXI.3.4. περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται, 24.1. χαλεπαίνειν μὲν γὰρ τί δεῖ πρὸς

[15] B. Kuhn-Chen, Geschichtskonzeptionen griechischer Historiker im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Untersuchungen zu den Werken von Appian, Cassius Dio und Herodian. Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 15, Klassische Sprachen und Literatur 84. Frankfurt 2002, 210–213.

τὸ δαιμόνιον, ᾧ πάντα ἔξεστιν.[16] These expressions are not far from the god conception of a Stoic emperor, the ideas formulated in the *Meditations* of Marcus (cf. e.g., VII.9, VIII.34, IX.10; 28, XII.2).[17] Based on all this, Mommsen drew the most natural and justified conclusion[18] that Marcus could have referred to that θεός in the original letter. That would have made the Christian (and other) interpretations possible, like the altar of the unknown god in the *Areopagitica* of St. Paul (Acta Ap. 18.23. Cf. Paus. 1.1.4).

Thus, Marcus described both miracles in the original letter; in the first case, the besieged Roman camp was saved by a lightning bolt, whereas later the surrounded and thirsty Roman army was rescued by a heavy shower (hail in Dio) that struck the enemy. The letter probably contained, according to Tertullian's text, the expression *precationibus militum* (Ap. V.25) or *militum orationibus* (Ad. Scap. 4), to which Tertullian himself may have added the words *Christianorum forte*. There is a striking similarity between the expressions of Tertullian and the *vita Marci* (24.4): *impetrato imbri, imbres... impetravit, pluvia impetrata*, perhaps stemming from a common source, i.e., the letter. Whether the hail was accompanied by lightning, as Dio describes, is uncertain, but no lightning is depicted in scene XVI of the column, and it is indeed possible that Dio himself combined the two miracles, which were not very remote from each other in time, in line with his particularly rhetorical manner (Dio LXXI.10). Summer hailstorms, however, are often accompanied by lightning. Suffice it to evoke the seventh plague of Moses, where thunder and fire (i.e., lightning) followed the hail: Ex. 9.13–34 (χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ). The similarity with Exodus would naturally have caught the attention of Christians and could have contributed to the appearance of that version. According to the data of Marcus' forged letter, which could have been based on the knowledge of Dio's entire work, the venue of the campaign could have been in the land of the Cotini and the military unit could have been a vexillation consisting of soldiers from the legions *I adiutrix, X gemina* and *X fretensis*. According to the inscription on a statue base found recently in Sarmizegetusa (AÉp 1998,

[16] Cf. Guey 1948, 118, n. 3.

[17] G. R. Stanton, Marcus Aurelius, emperor and philosopher. Historia 18, 1969, 570–587 = In: Marc Aurel. Darmstadt 1979, 359–388, 364–366, Rutherford 1989, 178–220.

[18] Mommsen 1895, 101.

1087),[19] the *legio XV Apollinaris* also participated in the Marcomannic wars, which confirms the earlier opinion of Domaszewski that the griffin motif on the helm of a soldier depicted in scene XV of the column speaks for the participation of that legion.[20] Simply based on that, however, the presence of the other Cappadocian legion, the *XII fulminata*, which is often mentioned in Christian sources, likewise cannot be excluded.[21] The absence of vexillations of the *XII fulminata* may explain the renewed unrest in the neighbouring Armenia (Dio LXXI.3.1¹).[22]

Although Marcus was present only at the lightning miracle, neither was he far from the venue of the rain miracle. According to Dio he was nearby (10.4); scene XVI depicts groups of soldiers departing from his tent, and in scene XVII the *deditio* takes place in front of him (picture 115). Figure 8 in scene XVI depicts the commander of the army, who is not the emperor. According to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius that was Pertinax (222.1 (Karst) = 206i Helm), later emperor himself, but that information is not confirmed by other sources. It is not mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* nor by Cassius Dio nor by Herodian. As Pertinax was the *legatus* of the *legio I adiutrix* in this period,[23] Eusebius' information is possible, although it cannot be accepted with complete certainty. Dio mentions the heat twice (8.2, 8.3), and hail with thunder and lightning is likely to occur under such circumstances, therefore these events had to have happened in summertime (between late spring and early autumn).

The dating of the miracles has provoked fervent debate. Based on the scenes of Marcus' column and the coins with the figure of Mercurius, a date of A.D. 172 has been the most widely accepted, following Zwikker and Guey.[24] The ancient sources, however, do not confirm this date. Cassius Dio (LXXI.10.5) links this event to the VIIth imperial acclamation of Marcus, which certainly happened in the early summer of A.D. 174 (among the mintings of Marcus Aurelius, the 27th emission may be dated to August, 174[25]).[26] Jerome's Latin translation of the *Chronicon* gives the date A.D. 173 (206i Helm), which

[19] Piso 1998.
[20] Marcus-Säule, 112–113.
[21] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1708.
[22] Birley 1987, 175.
[23] Fitz 1993, 613–614, Nr. 346.
[24] Zwikker 1971, 210–211, 217–219, Guey 1948, Guey 1949.
[25] Szaivert 1986, 123, 207.
[26] Kienast 1996, 139.

explains the differing dates of the Armenian version and the *Chronicon Paschale* (172 and 171, respectively).[27] Jerome dates the miracle to the 238th Olympiad (autumn, 173 until autumn, 176), without giving the exact year, but he also mentions that it was in the XIIIth year of the reign of Marcus, hence a date of 173 is justified.[28] Such a date does not match the summer heat of Dio's version. The Armenian version of the *Chronicon* and Pseudo-Dionysius date the event to the 2188th year after Abraham's birth, the 12th year of Marcus' reign (A.D. 172), but also to the first year of the 238th Olympiad. The shift may have been because, according to Pseudo-Dionysius, the 1st Olympiad took place in the 1240th year after Abraham and thus a one-year difference occurs, i.e., the first year of the reign of Marcus corresponds to 2177 after Abraham = A.D. 162, and thus he died in the 19th year of his reign, in 2195 after Abraham.[29] This shift cannot be ascribed to the Armenian redaction because of the Syrian translation; this date may well have appeared in the original version of Eusebius. Jerome identified and corrected the mistake. The 171 date of the *Chronicon Paschale* can easily be explained by a mistaken redaction; several events were dated to two years earlier, including the death of Marcus. The fact of the abridgement can definitely be seen in Dio LXXI.10: mentioning Faustina's title *mater castrorum* (LXXI.10.5) could not belong organically to the history of the rain miracle. Another interesting detail is that the emperor, who did not participate personally in the event, felt sorry for the enemy (LXXI.10.4), i.e., meanwhile he had to arrive from somewhere! Therefore the miracles may have happened in any year between A.D. 172 and 174. Neither can one exclude the possibility mentioned by Zwikker and Guey[30] that the time of the acclamation did not necessarily coincide with that of the miracle; maybe the epitomist did not use the parts between these years from Dio's complete work. In spite of that, the written sources do not make it possible to accept any of these dates as the only one possible. Closer dating can only be

[27] Previous datings are best summarised in Mommsen 1895, 92, Anm. 3, Zwikker 1941, 210–211, Roos 1943, 24–26, Guey 1949, 94, n. 5, Wolff 1990, 11–12.

[28] Since Roos, false information has appeared in the scholarly literature, according to which no more accurate date is given within the 238th Olympiad (see the previous note). The *Chronicon* (ed. Helm) gives the following dates (206i): CCXXXVIII. Olymp. XIII (sc. the year of his reign). That latter is to be found in every manuscript except codex L.

[29] Wolff 1990, 11, Anm. 16.

[30] Zwikker 1941, 218, Guey 1949, 97–99.

expected from the dating of the scenes on Marcus' column. As mentioned above, one of the campaigns against the Quadi and the Cotini can be dated to A.D. 173–174 (cf. Dio LXXI.12.3 = Exc. UG 58 [p. 408]).[31] Because of that, the ancient sources date the events to summer, 173, or to late spring-early summer, 174. The interpretation of the scenes on the column, however, may alter the situation, or if Xiphilinus mistakenly connected the event to the VIIth rather than the VIth imperial acclamation.[32]

Weather miracles, including lightning and rain miracles, had already occurred in earlier antiquity,[33] like in the Old and New Testaments (see the seventh plague in Egypt: Ex. 9.13–34; the example of Elijah, who caused rain to fall after three years of drought, was even mentioned by Gregory of Nyssa: Enc. In XL mart. I. 760 (cf. 1 Kings 18, 41–46),[34] and Jesus calmed the storm: Mt. 8.23–27, Mc. 4.35–41, Lc. 8.22–25).[35] In the Greek world, the miracles of Alexander the Great were widely known (his desperate army was rescued by a rain miracle: Diod. Sic. XVII.49.3, Cur. Ruf. IV.7.14, Plut. Alex. 27.1, Arr. III.3.4, App. Bell. civ. II.149.)[36] Such miracles also occurred in the turbulent history of Rome: e.g., the rain that kept Hannibal from marching against Rome: Oros. 4.17.5, the rain that helped Sulla at the siege of the acropolis of Athens: Plut. Sull. 14.11 and his stormy funeral: 38.4, Cn.; Hosidius Geta in his campaign against the Mauri: Dio LX.9.3–5;[37] Corbulo at the occupation of Artaxata: Tac. Ann. XIII.41.3 (Tacitus calls the event *miraculum velut numine oblatum*); Hadrian brought rain when he visited Africa: HA v. Hadr. 22.14; the legate of Numidia, supporting the legitimate emperor, Maximinus Thrax, against the Gordiani was helped by a storm: HA v. Gord. 16.2; and the victory in the battle by the Frigidus River was due to a wind caused by

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[31] Zwikker 1941, 194–195.

[32] Domaszewski 1895, 123, Anm. 1, 125.

[33] Barta 1968, 88, Anm. 9, Klein 1989, 131–133, Maffei 1990, 336–345.

[34] Cf. J. Neusner, Judaism when Christianity began. A survey of belief and practice. London 2002, 119–123.

[35] W. Fiedler, Antiker Wetterzauber. Classical Journal 28, 1936, 364–. I discuss the miracles related to Julian Apostata in a separate chapter: cf. Libanios Or 15.71, 18.177.

[36] Maffei 1990, 341–342.

[37] S. Montero, La conquista de Mauritania y el milagro de la lluvia del año 43 d.C. in: L'Africa romana 13. Geografi, viaghiatori, militari nel Maghreb; alle origini dell'archeoligia del Nord Africa. Roma 2000, 1845–1851, Perea Yébenes 2002, 75–76.

Theodosius' prayer: Orosius 7.35.12–14).[38] This latter event reflected the opinion of late Classical (naturally Christian) authors that God helps a righteous Christian emperor through miracles (cf. Rufinus H. E. 11.33, Socrates H. E. V.25, Sozomenus H. E. VII.24, and Ambrosius in Psalm. 36.25, Claudianus De tert. cons. Hon. 88–98, Theoderetus H. E. V.24).[39] The parallel between Marcus Aurelius' and Theodosius' (the *imperator Christianissimus*) prayers cannot be accidental. The story had to have helped the popularity of the Christian version of the rain miracle at the end of the 4th century. In scene XXIV of Trajan's column, the figure of Jupiter himself appears in the battle (the first important fight of the Romans against the Daci) to support the Romans with his lightning. According to Pausanias X.23.1, the Celts who took Delphi by siege were repelled by Apollo's lightning, and according to Propertius 3.13.51–54, their commander, Brennus, was struck to death. The most interesting parallels of these events appear in Cassius Dio among the events of the civil war of 193–197, which was undoubtedly part of Severan propaganda and deliberately compared the divine favour of Severus to that of his fictive father, Marcus Aurelius.[40] In the decisive battle against Pescennius Niger at Issus, Severus' troops were helped by a storm and rain (LXXIV.7.6–7. κἂν παντελῶς ἐκράτησαν, εἰ μὴ νέφη ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ ἄνεμος ἐκ νηνεμίας βρονταί τε σκληραὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ ὀξεῖαι μεθ' ὑετοῦ λάβρου κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς προσέπεσον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Σεουηρείους ἅτε καὶ κατόπιν ὄντα οὐκ ἐλύπει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ Νιγρείους ἐμπίπτοντα ἐξ ἐναντίας ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάραττε. μέγιστον δ' αὕτη ἡ συντυχία τοῦ γενομένου τοῖς μὲν θάρσος ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θείου βοηθουμένοις), and Dio again attributes that to divine help: δ' αὕτη ἡ συντυχία τοῦ γενομένου τοῖς μὲν θάρσος ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θείου βοηθουμένοις. During his first Parthian campaign, Septimius Severus personally found water for his thirsty soldiers in the desert across the Euphrates (LXXV.1.2–3. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβὰς ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας οὔσης ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ τότε πλέον ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐξικμασμένης ἐκινδύνευσε παμπληθεῖς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλεῖν· κεκμηκόσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ

[38] Klein 1989, 131–133. On the sources of the battle of Frigidus see M. Springer, Die Schlacht am Frigidus als quellenkundliches und literaturgeschichtliches Problem. In: Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der spätrömischen Zeit. Hrsg. von Rajko Bratoz. Ljubljana 1996, 45–94.

[39] Maffei 1990, 345.

[40] Z. Rubin, Civil-War Propaganda and Historiography. Bruxelles 1980, 66–74, A. R. Birley, Septimius Severus: The African emperor. London 1999^2, 113–114, 117.

ἡλίου καὶ κονιορτὸς ἐμπίπτων ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησεν, ὥστε μήτε βαδίζειν μήτε λαλεῖν ἔτι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον φθέγγεσθαι, "ὕδωρ ὕδωρ". ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεφάνη μὲν [ἰκμάς], ἐξ ἴσου δὲ τῷ μὴ εὑρεθέντι ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ ἀτοπίας ἦν, ὁ Σεουῆρος κύλικά τε ᾔτησε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἁπάντων ὁρώντων ἐξέπιε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς προσπιόντες ἀνερρώσθησαν). Another miracle happened at the same time (A.D. 196); the commanders of the turbulent Scythae (Goths or free Daci) were struck to death by lightning, so they kept the peace (LXXV.3.1. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοὺς Σκύθας πολεμησείοντας βρονταί τε καὶ ἀστραπαὶ μετ' ὄμβρου καὶ κεραυνοὶ βουλευομένοις σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐπέσχον). If one treats these events together, it becomes clear that each of them reiterates the miracle of Marcus Aurelius, this time separately. The new emperor apparently wanted to underline his own divine favour—comparable only to that of his great ancestor—through these stories. Yet these are, contrary to Marcus' lightning miracle, not so widely known. Neither would the two events under Marcus have been so special in their own right. The only reason that they became so important is that the original source, i.e., Marcus' letter, did not mention any god as the cause of the miracle and therefore worshippers of different religions all tried to attribute it to their specific god.

The fact that Marcus was nearby, and that he was present at the lightning miracle, may have been the grounds for the idea that had already appeared in Tertullian (Ad Scap. 4.) that the rain miracle also happened in the presence of the emperor; moreover, according to one of the strongest pagan versions (which is attested by book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina* to have appeared as early as the first half of the 3rd century A.D.), it was Marcus Aurelius himself who invoked the miracle. It was also due to the same fact that the sources, except for Marcus' column and the *vita Marci*, did not take notice of the lightning miracle; moreover, it is also possible that Cassius Dio's account had already confused the two miracles, i.e., the lightning motif was included in the rain miracle. Of course, one cannot exclude the possibility that lightning helped the Romans twice. The passage of Tertullian mentioned above does not mix the two events; it only assumes that Marcus was there without mentioning the lightning. Eusebius' other source, mentioned by name, is important: Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis. As I have already emphasized, since Harnack's work he has generally been considered the main source of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. That, however, is far from being evident. Eusebius formulated his own version in the

Historia Ecclesiastica (V.5.1–2) with reference to several sources, including pagan ones. Eusebius only took one thing from Apollinaris for certain: the name of the legion κεραυνοβόλος (V.5.4). Based on that, I have suggested that Eusebius may well have known and used Dio's account (LXXI.10), where the lightning is mentioned as well as the rain. That offers a better explanation for the similarities of both accounts and to me it seems more probable than Domaszewski's hypothesis that Dio forged the whole passage (Dio LXXI.10) himself. In Claudian's description (VI. cons. Hon. 339–350), Dio's story is clearly recognizable: rain and lightning are mentioned together, the expression *flammeus imber* is the translation of Dio's χάλαζα (it is the equivalent of the χάλαζα πυρώδης of the forged letter), and the magus figures as well. Therefore, only my proposal can be accepted, i.e., the expressions of the letter and Claudian stem from a common source, the complete work of Dio. The only certain thing is that the link between the name of the *legio XII fulminata* and the events may be traced back to Apollinaris. Indeed, which version could have been given by the Greek church father is a puzzling question. Mentioning the lightning makes it possible that he mistakenly connected the legion named *fulminata* to the lightning miracle. A vexillation of that legion may have indeed participated in the war—according to the new inscription from Sarmizegetusa (AÉp 1998, 1087)—like the *legio XV Apollinaris*. Another possibility is that Apollinaris was, in fact, Eusebius' main source. In that case, the question is again open as to how the rain miracle happened: whether it was accompanied by lightning or whether the events were coupled independently by both authors. Just because Apollinaris ascribes an important role to the lightning motif, one cannot assume that Tertullian knew the works of Apollinaris.[41] The participation of the legion in the war remains uncertain, but neither can it be excluded (cf. the cases of the *legio X fretensis* and *XV Apollinaris*).

From the accounts of Christian authors, it follows that the rain miracle was connected to the prayer of the Christian soldiers very early, perhaps even during Marcus' reign. Since the connection between Apollinaris and Tertullian cannot be proved, it may rightly be assumed that this version of the miracle spread quickly among the Christians. It may have been encouraged by the reference to the abstract deity in the letter of Marcus, but it is also possible that Christian soldiers really

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[41] Harnack 1894, 836, Berwig 1970, 130–131, Anm. 1.

were present in the campaign, as soldiers of, say, the *legio X fretensis*, and this version stems from them. By that time, Christians certainly served in the Roman army (cf. Tert. De cor. Tertullian was the son of a Roman officer).[42] Marcus himself, who rather disliked Christians (cf. Med. XI.3),[43] can hardly have given credit to that version. In his *Chronicon* (the Greek original is lost), Eusebius describes another version of the miracle (222.1 [Karst] = 206i [Helm]); the problems related to the date (A.D. 173) he gives have already been discussed above. This date may stem from the chronological work of Sex. Iulius Africanus, the first Christian chronographer, which would confirm the popularity of the Christian version. Due to Eusebius' popularity, particularly his *Histora Ecclesiastica*, it was this version of the rain miracle that spread and people no longer cared about the lightning miracle, not even about its version in the *Chronicon*. The Eusebian version was known to Gregory of Nyssa, who used it in his work on the 40 soldier martyrs of Melitene (In XL mart. I. PG 46, 757C–759B), and it was the version that lived on—with some exceptions (e.g., Pseudo-Dionysius' Chronica. CSCO 104. SS 43 (1927) p. 127, 8–18)—in both East and West in the Middle Ages.

Beside the Christians, worshippers of other cults tried early to attribute the miracle to the intervention of their god.[44] Adherents of Egyptian cults were the first, claiming that the miracle happened due to Hermes Aerios and other gods helping the Egyptian magus, Arnuphis; Cassius Dio, who relied on another source, mentions this as a variant of the story (LXXI.8.4). According to the inscription at Aquileia (AÉp 1934, 245 = Inscriptiones Aquileiae 234), Arnuphis is likely to have been a real person who fulfilled the function of ἱερογραμματεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου, and may have participated in the Marcomann-Quadian campaign in the emperor's retinue.[45] As the name, especially together with the function, is so rare, the identity of these two persons can be excluded. The god mentioned by Cassius Dio, Hermes Aerios, is not known from the Graeco-Roman pantheon, and therefore the identification with the Egyptian Thot seems plausible. Some attempts have been made to identify the deity more closely, suggesting that Hermes Aerios

[42] J. Helgeland, Christians and the Roman army from Marcus Aurelius. In: ANRW II/23. Berlin-New York 1979, 724–834, 772.
[43] Berwig 1970, 90–102.
[44] Fowden 1987.
[45] Guey 1948a, 19–47.

could be identical with Thot-Shou rather than Hermes Trismegistos.[46] It is not my aim to scrutinise that problem, but it has to be noted here that Hermes Trismegistos is not known from elsewhere, and the magical papyri mention only a rarely attested variant Σῶς Ἑρμαικός (PGM II Nr. VII col. 10, p. 16).[47] According to Dio, however, other gods also contributed to the rain-making. Moreover, the Aquileian inscription was dedicated to Isis by Arnuphis and Terentius Priscus. If the stories of Arnuphis had been given more credit in the empire, many more votive inscriptions with the name of Hermes Aerios (or its variants) would be known. This, however, is not the case.

Of course, one cannot fully reconstruct what happened, but one can answer the question of whether the Arnuphis' version gained official support at all. It has not been proved without doubt so far whether Marcus Aurelius gave credit to that version or not. As I have already argued, several arguments support the assumption that the coins minted between December, 172 and 175, with the figure of Mercurius and the legend RELIG AVG, are in no way linked to the rain miracle. I cannot accept the reasoning according to which Marcus changed his mind and decided in favour of Jupiter, the more popular Roman chief god. The allegorical figure of the rain god on Marcus' column cannot refer to an Egyptian god, and we also know from Tertullian (Ad Scap. 4) that only a few decades later Jupiter was considered the god of the miracles. Another interesting fact is that Marcus does not even hint at the rain miracle in his philosophical work, although the *Meditationes* contain several references to the historical events of his age (e.g., the remarks on the place of writing at the end of books I and II, VIII. 34, a reference to hands, legs, and heads that were cut off, X.10, mention of the Sarmatians).[48] Rain is mentioned in the work only with reference to the Athenians, and Marcus says that one should pray to Zeus, i.e., the chief god, for rain:[49]

> V.7. Εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων
> ὗσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε
> Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας

[46] Guey 1948a, 47–56, Posener 1951, Rubin 1976.

[47] W. M. Brashear, The Greek magical papyri. ANRW II/18, 5. Berlin-New York 1995, 3586–3587, 3599.

[48] A. S. L. Farquharson, The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius I–II. Oxford 1944, Birley 1987, 211–223.

[49] Rutherford 1989, 39, 192, 219.

τῆς Ἀθηναίων
καὶ τῶν πεδίων.
ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι ἢ οὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

There is no evidence that this passage had any connection to the rain miracle that happened in the land of the Quadi/Cotini, as was suggested earlier,[50] but it might be relevant that here, too, Marcus considered Jupiter as the "most competent." Praying to him during drought was natural among the Romans. During the so-called *aequilicium* (Fest. p. 2, L), the *lapis manalis* was taken into the city (Fest. 115,6 L, Tertull. Ap. XL, De ieiun. 16). During this process, the Romans prayed to the god of the sky and the weather, i.e., Jupiter: Petron. 44. *antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant, itaque statim urceatim plovebat* (cf. the very rare epithet Pluvialis of Jupiter: e.g., CIL IX 324 = ILS 3043).[51] Jupiter had several epithets that referred to thunder and lightning: fulgur-Fulgurator, fulmen-Fulminator, Imbricitor, *Summanus* (Festus 229 M), Tonans, Tonator, Tonitrator, *Tonitrualis* (cf. ILS pp. 536–537, CIL III pp. 2515, 2664–2665),[52] but none of them can be singled out: cf. Apul. De mundo 37: *Fulgurator et tonitrualis et fulminator, etiam imbricitor, et item dicitur serenator.*[53] Among them the most important was Tonans. The shrine of Jupiter Tonans was built by Augustus after his Cantabrian campaign when lightning saved his life (Suet. v. Aug. 29.3, 91.2). A strict rite was known from the reign of Numa Pompilius on how one had to invoke the lightning of Jupiter from the sky (cf. the epithet Elicius of Jupiter). If the instructions were followed exactly, success was guaranteed (or if not, punishment: cf. the death of Tullus Hostilius: Plin. Nat. Hist. 2.140, 28.14, Liv. I.20.7, 31.8).[54] The study of the *omina* relating to lightning was the duty of the Etruscan *haruspices*. Their books on this theme, the *Libri fulgurales*, have unfortunately been lost.[55] Helping lightning, *fulmina auxiliaria*, belonged

[50] C. R. Haines, The composition of the Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius. Journal of Philosophy 33, 1914, 283, P. A. Brunt, Marcus Aurelius in his Meditations. JRS 64, 1974, 19, Birley 1987, 227, Rutherford 1989, 221–223.

[51] PWRE X (1918) 1129–1130, 1143, E. Simon, Die Götter der Römer. München 1990^2, 108.

[52] PWRE X (1919) 1131, 1143.

[53] M. Le Glay, Fulgur conditum. Un lieu consacré par la foudre en Grand-Kabylie. Libyca 7, 1959, 106–107.

[54] R. M. Ogilvie, A commentary on Livy books 1–5 I. Oxford 1965, 101–102, 125.

[55] St. Weinstock, Libri fulgurales. PBSR 19, 1951, 122–153, Ch. Guittard, Az etruszk vallás. In: Bevezetés az Ókortudományba V. Debrecen 2006, 143–150.

to another group, which could be used and directed with the help of formulae (Sen. Quaest. Nat. 2.49.3), as Porsenna destroyed the beast in the territory of Volsinii (Plin. Nat. hist. 2.140). The *haruspex* dealing with this problem had the epithet *fulguriator* (CIL I^2 2127=XI 6363). Pompeianus, the *praefectus urbi*, wanted the help of these Etruscan experts and their sacred books during the campaign of Alarich against Rome in A.D. 408. Earlier, they had allegedly repelled the barbarians from the Etruscan city of Narnia with lighning:

> Zos. V.41.1. Περὶ δὲ ταῦτα οὖσιν αὐτοῖς Πομπηιανὸς τῆς πόλεως ὕπαρχος ἐνέτυχέ τισιν ἐκ Τουσκίας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένοις, οἳ πόλιν ἔλεγόν τινα Ναρνίαν ὄνομα τῶν περιστάντων ἐλευθερῶσαι κινδύνων, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχῇ καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια θεραπείᾳ βροντῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ πρηστήρων ἐπιγενομένων τοὺς ἐπικειμένους βαρβάρους ἀποδιῶξαι.

The conclusion is that Marcus Aurelius knew the Roman rites for how to repel an enemy. He also believed in the power of prayer.[56] He did not need the help of Egyptian or other magicians. If he had used such help he could not have confessed openly that he did not follow the Roman rites. In consequence, we have to attend to the facts, i.e., that there was (may have been) an Egyptian magus named Arnuphis in the retinue of Marcus who seized the successful rain-making for himself. It seems that he was not able to win Marcus' support, however, which is further confirmed by the fact that besides the entry "Arnuphis" in the *Suda* (A 3987), drawing on the work of Dio, the version featuring the magus may have appeared only in Claudian (VI. cons. Hon. 348–350).

According to the entry "Julian" in the *Suda*, it was Julian Theurgistes, the Chaldean magus, who invoked the miracle (Suda I 334). That entry, however, took Dio's story—as noted above—almost verbatim from the "Arnuphis" entry. As there is no previous reference to the role of the Chaldean magus, it seems plausible that he was linked to the rain miracle only by the compiler of the *Suda* in the 10th century, which might be due to the similarity of this story to those about Julian Apostata (Libanius Or. XV.71, XVIII.177).

The most popular version of the pagan line, however, was that it was the great emperor who won divine support by his personal prayer. Its success may have been—as has already been shown by Geffcken[57]—mainly due to the fact that in late antiquity the action of

[56] Rutherford 1989, 200–205.
[57] Geffcken 1899.

the idealized figure of the emperor was contrasted to the Christian version of the miracle that became popular through Eusebius. As is known from Themistius (Or. XV.191b, XXIV.21), that variant could also have spread through pictures (graphe). It has to be emphasized that the pictorial version was widely known as early as the first half of the 3rd century according to book XII of the *Oracula Sibyllina* (Or. Sib. XII.194–200), since the provincial author of book XII, a Hellenized Jew, could hardly have invented the story on his own[58] and it is far from evident that he intended it to answer the Christian version.

How could that version of the rain miracle become so widely known? It seems that the events were mixed not only by Tertullian and Cassius Dio, but other versions were disseminated in Rome and the provinces of the empire. An important role could have been played by the frequently mentioned picture chronicles, which were obviously very popular, especially among the illiterate masses. The person of Marcus was highlighted by his personal presence at the lightning miracle and this was confirmed through the subsequent cultic action he led, the consecration of the place where the lightning had struck (if Maffei is right about scene XI on the column). It is not by chance that the story of the lightning miracle disappeared almost without a trace from the ancient source; besides the column, it is preserved only in a passage of the *vita Marci* (24.4) that probably stemmed from Marius Maximus.

[58] Cf. Geffcken 1901, 191–192.

CHAPTER NINE

THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

One of the most important sources for interpreting the northern wars of Marcus Aurelius is the triumphal column standing in Rome on the Campus Martius near the via Lata, erected in remembrance of the wars and the ruler, according to its official name the *columna centenaria Divorum Marci et Faustinae* (cf. CIL VI 1585a–b = ILS 5920). The column once stood near the church of Divus Marcus (Reg. IX). Its other name comes from the famous scenes or the staircase hidden inside: *Columna Cochlis*. Its construction is only reported in the interdependent breviaria of late antiquity (Aur. Vic. 16.15. *Denique, qui seiuncti in aliis, patres ac vulgus soli omnia decrevere, templa columnas sacerdotes*, Epit. de Caes. 16.14. *Ob cuius honorem templa columnae multaque alia decreta sunt*).[1]

The name *Centenaria* comes from the fact that, as in so many other features, the height copied Trajan's Column; therefore, the height of the column (together with the torus and the Doric capital consisting of an echinus and an abacus) is 100 Roman feet (29.9 m tall). The column shaft, made of Lunan marble, is 26.5 m high, 3.8 m in diameter (it does not widen more than 14 cm); it consists of 26 column drums. 203 stairs lead up to the top inside the hollow interior, which is lit by 56 small windows. Originally a statue of Marcus (and perhaps Faustina) stood on the top, but during repairs during the Renaissance it was replaced with a statue of St. Paul. The consecutive depictions ornamenting the column wind around 21 times in a spiral towards the top; 116 scenes can be seen on the pillar, covering a total length of 245 meters. Over the years the footing of the column and its scenes sustained significant damage, which led Pope Sixtus V to commission Domenico Fontana to repair it in 1589. The footing took its present shape during the restoration work; this was when the Early Modern carvings, which can be distinguished from the ancient work without difficulty, were fitted into the damaged sections of the portrayals. The documentation of the repairs has survived in the Vatican Archives, presenting a clear picture

[1] The plurals above are most certainly mistaken and refer incorrectly to the column of Antoninus Pius: Domaszewski 1895, 119, Anm. 1.

of the exact locations of the additions.[2] Significant alterations were also necessary on the footing, originally 10.51 meters tall, as by the sixteenth century the original soil surface was about 3 meters below the street level. Luckily the original footing was successfully restored later based on 16th-century engravings (Dosio, Dupérac, De Cavaleriis, F. D'Hollanda, Enea Vico).[3] The present height of the footing is not more than 4.38 meters. A strip ornamented with reliefs, since chiselled off, probably stood in the middle strip of the substructure, over the original entrance and under the building inscription, decorated on three sides with Victoria figures holding garlands and chaplets. On the main frontage, facing the via Lata, it displayed the scene of the *submissio*, when the barbarians surrendered to Marcus, who is escorted by two figures, one of whom can certainly be identified as Commodus. Unfortunately, not a letter can be deciphered of the inscription commemorating the reconstruction after the Middle Ages.[4]

For a long time the column, was only mentioned as a poor copy of Trajan's Column; only critical analyses of the style during the 20th century brought a well-deserved "rehabilitation." As an outcome of these examinations, mostly due to the work of M. Wegner and G. Rodenwaldt, it received the title, "the masterpiece of the late Antonine Baroque," an expressionist *Stilwandel* that connects the art of the early imperial period with late antiquity.[5] The column displays an endeavour to achieve centrality and proportionate arrangement and surface composition (besides the simplification of the scenery into almost contour lines).[6] Compared to the Classic tendency, visuality was given a greater function; it is not an accident that only 21 revolutions take space on the column in contrast with 23 revolutions on Trajan's column; on Marcus' column the average depth of the scenes became significantly larger as well (approx. 10 cm). Frontality was much more in the foreground than on Trajan's column.[7] Wegner observed that different masters worked on the four different sides of the column and they started to carve the

[2] Cf. Caprino 1955, 124–124.
[3] Jordan-Ruwe 1990.
[4] Marcus-Säule 10, Jordan-Ruwe 1990, 55, Anm. 9.
[5] Wegner 1931, G. Rodenwaldt, Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 3, 1935, Caprino 1955, 45–60 (M. Pallottino), Bianchi Bandinelli 2002, 320–328, Pirson 1996, 168–171.
[6] Wegner 1931, 115–135.
[7] Wegner 1931, 126–128, J. Elsner, Frontality in the column of Marcus Aurelius. In: Scheid-Huet 2000, 251–264.

individual scenes from the bottom to the top (e.g., the windows disturbed the scenes on the lower sections much more than further up). Naturally, the individual column drums were only set in place after they were sculpted.[8] The eight relief panels from Marcus' age on Constantine's triumphal arch were connected with the column in age and in space. They were, in all likelihood, parts of a triumphal arch commemorating the divine ruler standing by the via Plata entrance of the column, therefore they are the same age as the column.[9] Marcus' column does indeed imitate Trajan's Column in size, exterior, and function.[10] The sizes are similar, as are the interior steps; the foundations must also have been similar, while a statue of each emperor stood on a Doric abacus on top of each structure.[11] Their designated purpose must have been similar (both triumphal and sepulchral); however, in contrast to Trajan's, Marcus' Column did not preserve the ashes of the divine Marcus and Faustina, as they were buried in Hadrian's mausoleum (Her. IV.1.4) next to their children and Lucius Verus (cf. CIL VI 992–995). In spite of this the official name is: *columna centenaria Divorum Marci et Faustinae*. Although Trajan's Column portrays many more scenes (CLV), the lines of spirally coiling scenes on both columns are related to each other. Both sequences explain the history of a Danubian war of the ruler; both follow two campaigns in chronological order divided by Victoria figures.[12] Comparing the scenes of the column with the description of pictures in Philostratus shows that several events were represented in the same picture (Imag. I.15.2–3, I.17.4, II.2.5).[13] They start and end in a rather similar way[14] (crossing the Danube, deportation, and

[8] Wegner 1931, 160–167.

[9] Ryberg 1967, E. Gordon, The panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. Diss. New York, Ann Arbor 1979, E. Angelicoussis, The panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. Mitt.DAI 91, 1984, 141–205, Koeppel 1986, 9–12, 56–75, Nr. 26–33.

[10] Marcus-Säule, 95–104, Hölscher 2000.

[11] Their latest architectural comparison: G. Martines, Architettura. In: Autour de la colonne Aurélienne. Geste et image sur la colonne de Marc Aurèle à Rome. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences Religieuses 108. Turnhout 2000, 19–88.

[12] For opposite views, it is enough here to refer to the throrough objections of Zwikker: Zwikker 1941, 239–250. The same can be seen in the individual scenes, as F. Pirson demonstrated by examining the battle scenes (especially the XX.): Pirson 1996. The entirety of a battle event is concentrated into a scene like this: clash, escape, destruction of the settlement, capturing prisoners, executions.

[13] F. Altheim, Die Krise der alte Welt im 3. Jahrhundert n. ZW. und ihre Ursachen III. Götter und Kaiser. Berlin-Dahlem 1943, 13.

[14] Morris 1952, 97, Wolff 1990.

animal portrayals at the end), and a line of scenes in similar styles follow: crossing the river, lustration or offering other types of sacrifice, *adlocutiones*, marches, battle and siege scenes, military punitive actions, deportations, and deditions.[15] The Victoria figures stand in the geometrical centre of each column and the most important scenes, such as the Victoria scenes, are placed in the main view on the other side of the entrance.[16]

In spite of these similarities Marcus' Column differs from Trajan's not only in style, but in its message. On Marcus' Column the main emphasis is on the destruction of the enemy, as the Marcomannic wars were not wars of conquest; the column therefore introduces the retaliations of a ruler compelled to punish the enemy. One only learns of a Roman victory according to the column; no Roman soldiers fall in battle, but the barbarians only escape or beg for mercy, or, even though they fight courageously, their situation is obviously without hope.[17] While Dacians appear as equal opponents on many points of Trajan's Column (e.g., in large battle scenes XXIV and CLI), this is not the case here.[18] The continuity of the scenes as seen on Trajan's Column also does not exist; it is more like the succession of markedly divided groups of scenes, mostly in the form of triptychs.[19] The reason for this is not only differences in artistic style, but also the fact that the war was fought on many fronts against more than twenty peoples altogether, therefore mainly continuous lines of scenes were created.

The continuity of the scenes on the column is provided by the similar outcomes of campaigns, probably arranged by year (according to the traditional dating: 172: I–XXIX, 173: XXX–LV, 174: LVI–LXXVII, 175: LXXVIII–CXVI): sacrifice-*lustratio*, adlocution, advance, battle, escape-destruction of the enemy, destruction of settlement, dedition.[20] The column is not meant to reflect historic reality, the exact course of events, but it is, on the one hand, an answer to the shock caused by the *timor belli Marcomannici*,[21] therefore it purposely avoids the depiction of open, decisive clashes. This is why revenge, the merciless destruction of

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[15] Cf. Hölscher 2000, 89–105.
[16] Wegner 1931, 84–86.
[17] Wegner 1931, 141–145, Pirson 1996.
[18] Marcus-Säule, 98, Wegner 1931, 76–78, 141–142, 159–160, Pirson 1996, 158–159, 172–173.
[19] Wegner 1931, 88–104.
[20] Hölscher 2000, 92–100.
[21] Pirson 1996, 173–174, Hölscher 2000, 101–102.

the enemy, is stressed. Compared to the other column there is not the slightest pathos in the behaviour of the enemy; they are only allowed to escape, beg for mercy, or endure their fortunes with resignation, while resistance is unorganised, manifested only on an individual level. This sharp contrast can be seen well when comparing the barbarian figures with the Roman soldiers.[22] The role of the barbarians is the perfect opposite of the Romans in everything: victory-defeat, fight-death, *disciplina-furor* and *superbia*, advance-retreat, escape.[23] Because this is a triumphal monument, the other great emphasis was placed on the virtues of the good and successful emperor. These are, above all, the *Virtus Augusti*, the Pietas (sacrificial scenes), the Sapientia and Providentia (war councils), the Clementia (primarily on the scenes showing the dedition), the Concordia and Fides (with the troops: see the dense adlocution scenes), the Iustitia (executions in the presence of Marcus do not refer to a lack of compassion—the cruelty of the ruler—but the worthy punishment of superbia),[24] the Felicitas (see the two miracles[25]).[26] It is no surprise that the two triumphal arches and the reverses and the legends of Marcus' coins display almost the same scenes (cf. 24–30 emissions of Marcus between 172 and 175).[27]

The exact date of erection of the column is unknown. Its *terminus post quem* is the triumph of Marcus and Commodus held on the 23 December 176,[28] while its *terminus ante quem* is the inscription of Adrastus, which is a copy of official documents issued between April and September, 193 (CIL VI 1585a–b+pp. 4715–4716 = ILS 5920).[29] On the latter inscription, found in 1777, Adrastus, as *libertus*, and as the procurator of the column, requested permission of the *officium operum publicorum* to build a small privately owned house *custodiae causa* (*hospitium, habitatio*) instead of his previous little hut (*cannaba*), unearthed about 60 metres west of the column.[30] Adrastus eventually obtained

[22] Pirson 1996, 158–168.
[23] Galinier 2000, 155–158.
[24] Pirson 1996, 175.
[25] Maffei 1990.
[26] Hölscher 2000, Galinier 2000.
[27] Szaivert 1986, 121–126, 204–209.
[28] Domaszewski 1895, 119, Anm. 2.
[29] Ibid.
[30] CIL VI 1585a–b = ILS 5920*: Libellus L(uci) [Septimi Augg(ustorum) l(iberti) Adrasti ex officio]/operum publi[corum in verba haec]/scripta Severo [Augusto]/domine permitta[s rogo ut rectius fungar of]/ficio meo post colum[nam centenariam Divorum]/Marci et Faustina[e pecunia mea loco publi]/[co] pedibus plus min[us—aedificium me exs]/[tru]ere et in matri[ces(?) referri quod*

permission from the authorities; in return for a payment he even managed acquire building materials (*tignorum vehes decem*).[31] The column is mentioned many times on the inscription; its official names are: *columna centenaria Divorum Marci et Faustinae, columna divi Marci, columna centenaria, columna centenaria divi Marci*. Based on this, the construction of the column was certainly finished after the death of the emperor in March, 180. The ancient sources also refer to this fact, recording that the senate and the people only decided on the erection of the column after Marcus' death: Aur. Vic. 16.15: *patres ac vulgus soli omnia decrevere templa columnas sacerdotes*, Epit. de Caes. 16.14: *ob cuius honorem templa columnae multaque alia decreta sunt.* Many conclusions have been drawn based on the ten beams used for the construction of the house mentioned on the Adrastus inscription, especially based on the clause found there: *cum pontem necesse fuit compingi.*

1. According to the most common assumption they were used for the framework set up during the construction of the column, therefore it would not have been completed much before 193.
2. According to Morris, the framework was necessary for the modifi-

sine]/[in]iuria cuiusqua[m fiat et reliqua fieri]/secundum litter[as Aeli Achillis Cl(audi) Perpetui]/rationalium [tuorum quas huic libello]/subieci dat[a—Romae Falcone et Claro co(n)s(ulibus).

Exemplaria litte/rarum rationali/um dominorum nn(ostrorum)/scriptarum pertinen/tes ad Adrastum/Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) lib(ertum) quibus aei/permissum sit aedifi/care loco cannabae/a solo iuris sui pecunia/sua prestaturus solari/um sicut c{a}eteri/Aelius Achilles Cl(audius) Perpetu/us Flavianus Eutychus/Epaphrodito suo salutem/tegulas omnes et inpensa(m)/de casulis item cannabis/et aedificiis idoneis adsigna/Adrasto procuratori/columnae Divi Marci ut/ad voluptatem suam hospi/tium sibi exstruat quod ut/habeat sui iuris et ad he/redes transmittat/litterae datae VIII Idus/Aug(ustas) Romae Falcone et/Claro co(n)s(ulibus)/Aelius Achilles Cl(audius) Perpetu/us Flavianus Eutychus Aqui/lio Felici Hadrasto Aug(usti) lib(erto)/ad aedificium quod custodi/ae causa columnae cente/nariae pecunia sua exstruc/turus est tignorum vehes/decem quanti fisco consti/terunt cum pontem neces/se fuit compingi petimus/dari iubeas litterae datae/XIIII Kal(endas) Sept(embres) Romae/Falcone et Claro co(n)s(ulibus)/rationales Seio Superstiti/et Fabio Magno procurat/or columna(e) centenariae/Divi Marci exstruere habi/tationem in conterminis/locis iussus opus adgredi/etur si auctoritatem ves/tram acceperit petimus/igitur aream quam demo/nstraverit Adrastus lib(ertus)/domini n(ostri) adsignari ei iubea/tis praestaturo secundum/exemplum ceterorum so/larium litterae datae/VII Idus Sept(embres) Romae red/ditae IIII Idus Sept(embres) Romae/isdem co(n)s(ulibus).

[31] Marcus-Säule, 1–2, Caprino 1955, 19, 31–32, 38–41, Morris 1952, 91, Becatti 1960, 75, A. Kolb, Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom: Geschichte und Aufbau der cura operum publicorum unter dem Prinzipat HABES 13. Stuttgart 1993, 114, 133, 312–314, Nr. 8, A. Daguet-Gagey, Les opera publica à Rome (180–305 ap. J. C.). Collection des Études Augustiniennes Série Antiquité 156. Paris 1997, 264–265, Nr. 98, Daguet-Gaguey 1998, G. Filippi, Iscrizione commemorativa dei lavori edilizi compiuti dal liberto imperiale Adrastus, preposto alla custodia della colonna di Marco Aurelio. In: Via del corso. Una strada lunga 2000 anni. Catalogo della mostra. Roma 1999, 131–134, CIL VI 8, 3 pp. 4715–4716 (with full literature).

cation of the depictions following the *damnatio* of Commodus (this hypothesis has not been proven so far).

3. According to a newer hypothesis, the construction of the framework became necessary because of the damage caused by the earthquake of 191–192, mentioned by Herodian (I.14.2).[32]

Taking all this into consideration, I must agree with the opinion of Daguet-Gagey[33] that this clause does not justify a connection between the beams and the column. The word *pons* probably relates to the framework of a nearby bridge, and it rarely occurs with the meaning "framework".[34] Therefore, the completion of the column is still uncertain, but it must have happened before 193. Trajan's Column, according to its inscription (CIL VI 960), was undoubtedly finished in the seven years following the Dacian wars, by the year 113 (in spite of the much more significant earthworks and the large-scale construction work of the *forum Traiani*). Probably the hypothesis that the planning of the column was started during Marcus' lifetime will be correct.[35] Dating the column to the age of the humanistic emperor Marcus Aurelius would not be incongruent with accepting the "violent orgy" radiating from the scenes of the column.[36]

Studies, primarily in the 20th century, have frequently questioned the historic authenticity of the scenes and the individual depictions. These queries have been fed by the fact that, apart from the realistic depiction of the ruler, the most frequent character on the column, only the figures of Pompeianus and maybe the future emperor Pertinax can be identified with certainty as the two advisors often depicted in the company of the emperor.[37] The identification of Pompeianus with the older figure with thinning hair in the company of Marcus is justified by the fact that his figure appears subsequently in the scenes on the triumphal arches (on nine out of 11 panels!).[38]

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[32] G. Martines, Architettura. In: Autour de la colonne Aurélienne. Geste et image sur la colonne de Marc Aurèle à Rome. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences Religieuses 108. Turnhout 2000, 30, n. 37.

[33] Daguet-Gagey 1998, 897, n. 11.

[34] Ch. T. Lewis – Ch. Short, A Latin dictionary. Oxford 1877, 1397.

[35] Jordan-Ruwe 1990, 67–69.

[36] N. Hannestad, Roman art and imperial policy. Aarhus 1986, 244. Cf. Pirson 1996, 140–141.

[37] Marcus-Säule, 43–44.

[38] Becatti 1960, 76, Ryberg 1967, 74, 77–78.

Contesting the historic authenticity of the depictions emerged for the first time during the debate concerning the portrayals of German houses. Circular huts on Trajan's Column were not characteristic of the ground plans of Germanic lake dwellings.[39] Likewise, the view originally set forth by Petersen and Domaszewski that it is possible to divide the barbarian figures by tribes has also not been maintained.[40] The main problem is that, contrary to the case of Trajan's Column, not much attention was paid to the detailed depiction of the barbarians. Therefore, the depiction of the Sarmatian warriors, who are clearly recognisable on Trajan's column, hardly differs from the depiction of the German warriors on Marcus' monument. The situation is even worse in the case of women; the distinction between Germanic tribes is even more illusory. The interpretive methods can be examined in two examples: someone has a beard, therefore he is similar to contemporary Czechs, therefore we are talking about a Slavic people (almost half a millennium before the appearance of the Slavs in Middle Europe),[41] or the figures appearing in scenes XVIII–XXI wear long beards, therefore we are obviously talking about Langobards (clearly based on the famed name-giving story of the goddess Frea appearing in *Origo gentis Langobardorum* [cap. 1.]).[42] The assumptions behind these interpretations rightfully triggered criticism by many researchers.[43] The identification of mounted German allies (scenes XXII–XXIII) with the Buri is also highly uncertain since it is based on the Burus rider messenger in scene IX on Trajan's Column.[44] Nevertheless, these observations reveal that there are two archetypes. The first one, which can be presumed as German, appears on the first section of the column, the second, which could be called Sarmatian, appears on the second section. The difference does not lie in their clothing or weapons, but rather in the shapes of their

[39] R. Mielke, Die angeblich germanischen Rundbauten an der Markussäule in Rom. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 47, 1915, 75–91, Fr. Drexel, Die germanischen Hütten auf der Markussäule Germania 2, 1918, 114–118, Fr. Behn, Die Markomannenhütten auf der Markussäule. Germania 3, 1919, 52–55, Fr. Drexel, Entgegnung. Germania 3, 1919, 55–56, R. Pagenstecher, Zu den Germanenhütten der Markussäule. Germania 3, 1919, 56–57, Fr. Behn, Nochmals die Markomannenhütten auf der Markussäule. Germania 3, 1919, 83–84, Hanoun 2000, 209–210.

[40] Marcus-Säule, 46–51, 113–114, 117–125.

[41] Marcus-Säule, 46, 72, 117–118.

[42] Marcus-Säule, 113–114.

[43] Wegner 1931, 73, Zwikker 1941, 260–261, 264, Anm. 13, Morris 1952, 73, Alföldi 1942, 226, j. 254, Wolff 1993, 75.

[44] Marcus-Säule, 114–115, Zwikker 1941, 270.

heads; the Germanic skull shape is longish and the nose is straight, while the "Sarmatian" head is rather stubby and twisted, with protruding cheek-bones. G. Becatti pointed out significant similarities between the barbarian depictions on the column and the panels (e.g., scenes LIX and LXXV: two bearded figures of the *Rex datus* panel and their gestures).[45] Therefore, the premise became plausible that the creator of these scenes, unlike the master of Trajan's Column, had practically no knowledge of the peoples of the Danubian region geographically nor ethnographically; he simply adopted the various barbarian archetypes already used in Roman art.[46] The environment depicted also helps to distinguish between the Germans and the Sarmatians; a hilly landscape is characteristic for the Germans while marshland was used for the Sarmatians (albeit not exclusively: think of the Csallóköz (today: south Slovakia). A limited number of national/tribal characteristics can be found on the individual figures, but based on their torques, the figures escorted as prisoners on scene LXIX (1, 3, 7, 10) could be Cotini.[47] The figures with Phrygian caps (e.g., scenes XXIV–XXV and the envoys of scene XLIX)[48] suggest Dacians/Dacianized tribes rather than oriental tribes.[49] This may not apply, however, to the oriental auxiliary troops marching with the Roman army in scene LXXVIII and the archers in scene XXXIX.[50]

Gnirs made an interesting, albeit unsuccessful, attempt to identify the events on the column topographically.[51] According to Domaszewski the events of the first campaign can be arranged exactly in a sequence, and thus the exact course of events can also be established (starting with the campaign from Carnuntum against the Quadi [the lightning miracle at Mušov] through Moravia, the defeat of the Cotini [the rain miracle] until the final victory over the Marcomanni). The principal fault of his identification is that Marcus' Column is not an exact copy of a military map based on contemporary accounts, the succession of the event sequences stemming from one another is not proven, and it is also rather doubtful that the starting point of the campaign would have been Carnuntum. In this case the campaign would have been against

[45] Becatti 1960, 72–79, kül. 77, T. 28, 34–35.
[46] Wolff 1993, 75.
[47] Marcus-Säule, 51, 120–121.
[48] They cannot be oriental envoys as suggested by Zwikker 1941, 267–268.
[49] Marcus-Säule, 50–51, 118–119.
[50] Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 70, 95, 106.
[51] Gnirs 1976, 52–63.

the Quadi and the Cotini, which is not possible. If such a military map still existed (Lucius Verus does not mention one in his letter) it could have served as a resource for the creator of the column. A decisive phase is still missing from Gnirs' theory: based on the map, or rather, using the map freely, the master of Marcus' Column prepared the exact plan for the column and the scenes. Namely, the first step was the source, the second was the plan of the column, and the third was the elaboration of the column itself. The master, who was not familiar with the Danubian region (who largely relied on the scenes—or rather plans—of Trajan's Column) reconstructed his source according to his instructions. If one does not wish to identify the events exactly, however, if one only attempts to reconstruct the map itself as Gnirs has done elsewhere according to *Tabula Peutingeriana*, he ends up with a much more useful indicator for identifying the venue of the events (e.g., by indicating hilly areas and flatlands, rivers, Roman camps, barbarian settlements, and strongholds).[52]

Examining exactly what is depicted: On scene XI: in the first section of the scene a Roman fort is seen besieged by the enemy; the soldiers are looking back toward the emperor, while the siege tower of the enemy and the barbarians are destroyed by a lightning bolt shooting down from the sky.[53] The figure of Marcus also appears in the previous scene as he addresses the barbarians defending the opposite bank. The depiction of the siege tower fits perfectly with the *machinamentum* mentioned in the *vita Marci* (vita Marci 24.4). The second part of the same scene depicts a later event: while the barbarians are defending the far bank with their shields, Marcus can be seen again, weaponless, in the company of a few *praetoriani* on the near bank of the river (the depiction is badly damaged). Petersen identified some of the figures as surveyors associated with the erection of a *tropaeum*. According to Zwikker and others, however, this event had no connection with the earlier miracle; it simply shows the rebuilding of the fort. Most recently S. Maffei has suggested that Marcus and the people surrounding him had nothing to do with setting up the camp, but were related to the unearthing and sanctification (*fulgur conditum*) of the place where the lightning had struck (*bidental, puteal*);[54] therefore, in her opinion, Marcus

[52] Gnirs 1976, 70, Abb. 2, 126, Abb. 2.

[53] Marcus-Säule, 56–57, Zwikker 1941, 262–263, Caprino 1955, 86.

[54] PWRE III (1899) 429–431, X (1917) 1130–1131, DizEp III (1922) 323–334, M. Le Glay, Fulgur conditum. Un lieu consacré par la foudre en Grand-Kabylie. Libyca

as *pontifex* undertook the ceremony (cf. Schol. Iuv. VI.587: *condi fulmina dicuntur quotienscumque pontifex dispersos ignes in unum redigit et quadam tacita ignorata prece locum aggestione consecratum facit*); this is why he has no weapons and wears civilian clothing.[55] The place of the lightning strike was a *locus religiosus* for the Romans (Fest. Ep. 92 M, Gell. IV.9.8); the deity practically designated this place for himself (one thinks of the sanctuary of Apollo in Palatinus built by Augustus: cf. Dio XLIX.15.5).[56] The objects affected by the lightning strike, even the people who died in it, had to be buried in the sanctuary (Plin. Nat. Hist. 2.145, Quint. Decl. 274)[57] and during the burial the *haruspex* or the *pontifex* had to undertake the rite in multiple phases: *exploratio, interpretatio, exoratio-expiatio-procuratio* (cf. Luc. Phars. I.606–609, Nonius 370, Sen. De clem. I.7.1).[58] Thunderbolts always had special significance for the Romans; therefore, it had to be the same for Marcus Aurelius, who paid careful attention to respecting religious rites even during a war—think of the casting away of Fetiales' bloody spear at the beginning of the second Marcomannic war (Dio LXXI.33.3).[59] Reflecting logically upon the depiction of this rite, it had to have a place on the column in order to emphasize the piety of the emperor. The erection of the *tropaeum* suggested by Petersen would be in line with this possibility. Otherwise, what other fort would Marcus have laid out before crossing the river? There are also no signs of the construction of any (floating) bridge (boats holding the bridge, a collection of posts, etc.).

The artistic representation of divine lightning aiding the Romans is not unique; here one must compare Marcus' column to that of Trajan. To be precise, in scene XXIV of Trajan's column, during the first Roman-Dacian battle, the figure of Jupiter also aids the Romans; he is

7, 1959, 101–109, D. Paunier, Une inscription lapidaire dédiée à la foudre trouvée à Brenex. Genava 21, 1973, 287–295, B. Rémy – A. Buisson, Les inscriptions commémorant le chute de la foudre dans les provinces romaines de la Gaule à propos d'un nouveau document découvert à Saint-Geoire-en-Valdaine (Isère). Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise 25, 1992, 83–104, I. Piso – M. Drîmbărean. Fulgur conditum. Acta Musei Napocensis 36, 1999, 109–110.

[55] Maffei 1990, 353–355.

[56] Platner-Ashby 1928, 16–19.

[57] This was confirmed by recent Italian excavations: A. Degrassi, Il bidental di Minturno. Arheološki Vestnik 19, 1968, 31–35 = Scritti vari di antichità. Trieste 1971, 123–128, Scavi di Luni. Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1970–1971. Roma 1973, 823. The still unpublished excavation of Savaria is such an example.

[58] DizEp III (1922) 327–331.

[59] P. Kovács, Adatok a hasta, mint hatalmi jelvény használatához. AntTan 47, 2003, 261–289, 265–266.

holding a bunch of thunderbolts in his hand.[60] Although the portrayal is similar, it is still completely different. No deity arrives in scene XI of Marcus' column; the lightning comes directly from the sky. It is not necessarily the divine figure causing the lightning miracle where one should see the uncertainty; the difference of style in the actual portrayal may also play a role.

On scene XVI: at the beginning of the scene of the rain miracle the Roman troops set out from Marcus' tent in *agmen quadratum*; the catapult cart can be seen in the middle. The troops are not led by Marcus, but by another Roman commander, who can be identified as the figure of Roman soldier No. 8.[61] An ox that perished, apparently due to the shortage of water, indicates the dangerous position of the Romans. The water shortage is also indicated by the figure of soldier 9, looking up and raising his hands as if praying. Due to the characteristic message of the column, dead Romans are not depicted. The figures of soldier 10, watering his horse, and soldier 20, drinking, also clearly indicate the quenching of the overwhelming thirst. The rain spreading to be more and more colossal is also indicated by soldiers 14 and 22–23, protecting themselves from the rain with their shields. The Romans are divided from the enemy by the bearded winged rain god extending his arms. The rain brought devastation to the barbarians—this is indicated by the corpses of drowned horses and barbarians. The hilly sloping terrain is represented by tilted contour lines.

The visual scene is practically identical with Dio's description (LXXI.8; 10), with the difference that the thunderbolts he mentions cannot be seen here; however, the twofold effect of the rain is a noteworthy comparison to the ancient passage. The portrait of the bearded, winged rain god is a new feature from an iconographic point of view and corresponds to no other depiction of Jupiter.[62] The figure of the rain god most closely resembles Ovid's description of Notus (Metam. I.264–269):

> *... madidis Notus evolat alis,*
> *terribilem picea tectus caligine vultum;*

[60] C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Traianssäule. Berlin 1896, 113, 116–117, R. Vulpe, Fulgerul lui Iupiter de la Tapae—La foudre de Jupiter Tapae. Apulum 9, 1971, 571–584, LIMC VIII (1997) 451, Nr. 342.

[61] Marcus-Säule, 58–59, Caprino 1955, 88–89.

[62] Hamberg 1945, 153–154, LIMC VIII (1997) 451, Nr. 343.

barba gravis nimbis, canis fluit unda capillis;
fronte sedent nebulae, rorant pennaeque sinusque.
utque manu lata pendentia nubila pressit,
fit fragor: hinc densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi;

The problem, however, is that while winds are indeed portrayed with a beard and wings, Notus normally appears as a young, beardless figure.[63] The depiction of the rain god is obviously allegorical, just like the depictions of Danubius and others. The creator of the visual message of the column evidently did not wish to identify the figure with any specific Roman god. Allegoric deity figures appear among the portrayals on both columns, like Danubius or the Night (Luna or Dacia) on Trajan's column; the Victoria figures that appear on both monuments dividing the individual campaigns from each other can also be considered allegorical.[64]

Maffei has analysed the broader contexts of the scenes introducing miracles.[65] She has observed (in a largely undisputable manner) that the depiction of the lightning miracle is surrounded on all sides, even from below and above, by scenes describing the virtues of the emperor:

	Scene XVII: *deditio*	
Scene X.	**lightning miracle**	Scene XI: Marcus' depiction.
	Scene IV: *adlocutio*	

In her opinion (and this is also a fact), the same can be observed in the contexts of the rain miracle as well:

Scene XX: *clementia Augusti*	
Scene XVI **rain miracle**	Scene XVII: *deditio (clementia)*

These are facts that reinforce the visual message of the scenes on the column, emphasizing the outstanding significance of the virtuous emperor in miracles to which the miracles themselves and the victory

[63] LIMC VIII (1997) 186–192.
[64] Guey 1948, 118–120.
[65] Maffei 1990, 352–367.

can be attributed. I will return to the dating of the scenes in detail at the end, below.

Literature: P. S. Bartoli – G. Bellori, Columna Antoniniana Marci Aurelii Antonini Augusti rebus gestis insignis Germanias simul, et Sarmatis gemino bello devictis ex S. C. Romae in Antonini foro, ad viam Flaminiam, erecta, ac utriusque belli imaginibus anaglyphicae insculpta nunc primum a Petro Sancti Bartolo, iuxta delineationes in bibliotheca Barberiana asservatas, a se cum antiqius ipsius columnae signis collatas, aere incisa, et in lucem edita, cum notis excerptis ex declarationibus Io: Petri Bellorii. Roma 1672, Petersen 1894, Petersen 1895, Marcus-Säule, Reinach 1909, 293–329, Strong 1926, 263–278, Platner-Ashby 1928, 132–133, Wegner 1931, Zwikker 1941, Hamberg 1945, 104–161, Morris 1952, A. E. Colini – C. Pietrangeli, Piazza Colonna. Roma 1955, Caprino 1955, Becatti 1957, Becatti 1960, 47–82, G. Martines, Restauri storici di monumenti antichi: un esempio, la Colonna di Marco Aurelio. In: Forma. La città antica e il suo avvenire. Catalogo della mostra. Roma 1985, 191–196, Birley 1987, 267, Jordan-Ruwe 1990, Maffei 1990, Wolff 1990, Wolff 1993, Enciclopedia d'Arte Antica Secondo Supplemento 1971–1994 (1994) 234–237, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae I. Roma 1993, 302–305, Pirson 1996, Daguet-Gagey 1998, Via del Corso. Una strada lunga 2000 anni. Catalogo della mostra. Roma 1999, 111–149, P. J. E. Davis, Death and the emperor: Roman imperial funerary monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius. Cambridge-New York 2000, 42–48, Autour de la colonne Aurélienne. Geste et image sur la colonne de Marc Aurèle à Rome. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Section des Sciences Religieuses 108. Turnhout 2000, Bianchi Bandinelli 2002, 320–328, Perea Yébenes 2002, 109, 118, 124, 150, E. Brilliant, The Column of Marcus Aurelius re-viewed. JRA 12, 2002, 499–506, M. Beckmann, the border of the frieze of the Column of Marcus Aurelius and its implication. JRA 15, 2005, 302–312, A. Claridge, Further consideration on the carving of the frieze on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. JRA 15, 2005, 313–316, F. Coarelli, La colonna di Marco Aurelio—The column of Marcus Aurelius. Roma 2008.

CHAPTER TEN

THE SCENES ON THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

I. The *ripa Pannonica* in Brigetio (Marcus-Säule, 51–52, 109, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 81) (Bellori-Reinach 1–2)

II. Roman boats on the Danube (Marcus-Säule, 52, 109–110, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 81–82) (Bellori-Reinach 3)

III. Crossing the bridge (Marcus-Säule, 52–53, 110, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 82–83) (Bellori-Reinach 4–6)

IV. *Adlocutio* (Marcus-Säule, 53, 110, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 84) (Bellori-Reinach 7)

V. Marching towards a Roman fort (Celamantia?) on the left bank (Marcus-Säule, 53, 110, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 84) (Bellori-Reinach 8–9)

VI. *Lustratio exercitus* (Marcus-Säule, 54, 110, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 84–85) (Bellori-Reinach 9)

VII. Roman troops reach an evacuated barbarian village (Marcus-Säule, 54–55, 111, Zwikker 1941, 261, Caprino 1955, 84) (Bellori-Reinach 10–12)

VIII. Mounted barbarians are led to Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 55, 111, Zwikker 1941, 261–262, Caprino 1955, 84–85, Pirson 1996, 145–147) (Bellori-Reinach 13)

IX. Marcus gives orders to the troops (Marcus-Säule, 55, 111, Zwikker 1941, 262, Caprino 1955, 85) (Bellori-Reinach 14)

X. Germans are defending a river crossing (Marcus-Säule, 55–56, 111, Zwikker 1941, 262, Caprino 1955, 85–86) (Bellori-Reinach 15–16)

XI. The lightning miracle and the consecration of the *puteal* (Marcus-Säule, 56–57, 111–112, Zwikker 1941, 262–263, Caprino 1955, 86, Maffei 1990) (Bellori-Reinach 16–18)

XII. Clash for the ownership of a herd (Marcus-Säule, 57, 112, Zwikker 1941, 263, Caprino 1955, 86–87) (Bellori-Reinach 18–19)

XIII. Marcus offers a crossing sacrifice while the Romans cross a river by boat (Marcus-Säule, 57–58, 112, Zwikker 1941, 263, Caprino 1955, 87–88) (Bellori-Reinach 19–20)

XIV. The troops reach the mountains before Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 58, 112, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 88) (Bellori-Reinach 20–21)

XV. Marching in the mountains (Marcus-Säule, 58, 112, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 88) (Bellori-Reinach 21)

XVI. The rain miracle (Marcus-Säule, 58–59, 107–109, 112–113, Zwikker 1941, 206–218, 263, Caprino 1955, 88–89) (Bellori-Reinach 22–24)

XVII. *Deditio* (Marcus-Säule, 59, 113, Zwikker 1941, 263, Caprino 1955, 89) (Bellori-Reinach 24)

XVIII. The destruction of the residence of a tribal leader (Marcus-Säule, 59–60, 113, Zwikker 1941, 263–264, Caprino 1955, 89–90) (Bellori-Reinach 25)

XIX. The escape of the leader, the capture of his wife (Marcus-Säule, 60–61, 113, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 90) (Bellori-Reinach 26–27)

XX. Destruction of a village (Marcus-Säule, 61, 113, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 90–91, Pirson 1996, 142–147) (Bellori-Reinach 28–29)

XXI. Prisoners are led before Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 61–62, 113–114, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 91) (Bellori-Reinach 30)

XXII. Marcus and the Germans negotiate (Marcus-Säule, 62, 114, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 91) (Bellori-Reinach 31)

XXIII. Clash of the Romans and allied Germans against another tribe (Marcus-Säule, 62–63, 114, Zwikker 1941, 247–250, 264, Caprino 1955, 91–92) (Bellori-Reinach 32–33)

XXIV. Romans repel an attack from the rear (Marcus-Säule, 63, 114, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 92) (Bellori-Reinach 33)

XXV. Prisoners are led before Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 63, 114, Zwikker 1941, 264, Caprino 1955, 92) (Bellori-Reinach 34)

XXVI. Council of war and departure (Marcus-Säule, 63, 115, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 92) (Bellori-Reinach 35–36)

XXVII. Marcus pushes forward with his escort (Marcus-Säule, 63–64, 115, Zwikker 1941, 264–265, Caprino 1955, 92) (Bellori-Reinach 36–37)

XXVIII. Crossing a river, suppressing resistance (Marcus-Säule, 64, 115, Zwikker 1941, 265, Caprino 1955, 92–93) (Bellori-Reinach 37–38)

XXIX. The finish of the river crossing (Marcus-Säule, 64, 115,

Zwikker 1941, 265, Caprino 1955, 93) (Bellori-Reinach 38–39)

XXX. Marcus' river crossing sacrifice, crossing the river in boats (Marcus-Säule, 65, 115–117, Zwikker 1941, 265–266, Caprino 1955, 93) (Bellori-Reinach 40)

XXXI. Making a pact with two barbarian tribal leaders in the Roman fort (Marcus-Säule, 65, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 94, Wolff 1993, 77) (Bellori-Reinach 41)

XXXII. Starting and halting the march (Marcus-Säule, 65, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 94) (Bellori-Reinach 42)

XXXIII. Marching towards a river, led by Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 65–66, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 94) (Bellori-Reinach 43)

XXXIV. Crossing the river in boats (Marcus-Säule, 66, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 94–95) (Bellori-Reinach 43–44) Addition

XXXV. Marching in the other direction, led by Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 66, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 95) (Bellori-Reinach 44)

XXXVI. Marching (Marcus-Säule, 66, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 95) (Bellori-Reinach 45–46)

XXXVII. Marcus inspecting the march from in front of his tent (Marcus-Säule, 66, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 95) (Bellori-Reinach 47)

XXXVIII. Halting the march (Marcus-Säule, 66–67, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 95) (Bellori-Reinach 48–49)

XXXIX. Marcus reaches the fort while the troops fend off a hostile attack (Marcus-Säule, 67, 117, Zwikker 1941, 266, Caprino 1955, 95–96) (Bellori-Reinach 49)

XL. The enemy cries out for mercy (Marcus-Säule, 67, 117, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 96) (Bellori-Reinach 49–50) Addition (Bellori-Reinach 50)

XLI. *Deditio* of a German leader (Marcus-Säule, 67–68, 117, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 96) (Bellori-Reinach 50–51)

XLII. Reception of a Roman legation, festive ceremony (Marcus-Säule, 68–69, 117–118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Morris 1952, 77–78, Caprino 1955, 96–97, Becatti 1960, 48–51, n. 95, Wolff 1993, 74–75) (Bellori-Reinach 51)

XLIII. Destruction of the residence of an enemy leader (Marcus-Säule, 69, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 97, L. Rossi, Sull' iconografia e storiografia celebrativa di Marco Aurelio dall' epigrafe di M. Valerio Massimiano. Quaderni ticinesi 6, 1977, 223–232) (Bellori-Reinach 52)

XLIV. Pursuit (Marcus-Säule, 69, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 97) (Bellori-Reinach 53)

XLV. Fugitives surrender to Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 69, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 97–98) (Bellori-Reinach 54)

XLVI. Destruction of a village (Marcus-Säule, 69, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 98) (Bellori-Reinach 55)

XLVII. Barbarians flee (Marcus-Säule, 69–70, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 98) (Bellori-Reinach 56) Addition (Bellori-Reinach 56)

XLVIII. Pursuit of barbarians in a swamp (Marcus-Säule, 69, 118, Zwikker 1941, 267, Caprino 1955, 98, Wolff 1993, 77) (Bellori-Reinach 57)

XLIX. Marcus receives the legates of two peoples and Roman soldiers escort barbarian prisoners to Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 70, 118–119, Zwikker 1941, 267–268, Caprino 1955, 98–99, Wolff 1993, 77) (Bellori-Reinach 58–59)

L. Victorious breakout from a Roman fort (Marcus-Säule, 70–71, 119, Zwikker 1941, 268, Caprino 1955, 99) (Bellori-Reinach 60–61)

LI. Marcus and a German leader negotiating (Marcus-Säule, 71, 119, Zwikker 1941, 268, Caprino 1955, 99) (Bellori-Reinach 62)

LII. An assault on a barbarian group (Marcus-Säule, 71, 119, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 99) (Bellori-Reinach 63–64)

LIII. *Deditio* (Marcus-Säule, 71, 119, Zwikker 1941, 268, Caprino 1955, 99) (Bellori-Reinach 64)

LIV. The siege of a barbarian stronghold with the portrayal of formulating a *testudo* (Marcus-Säule, 71, 119, Zwikker 1941, 268, Caprino 1955, 100) (Bellori-Reinach 65–66)

LV. *Adlocutio* (Marcus-Säule, 71, 119, Zwikker 1941, 268, Caprino 1955, 100) (Bellori-Reinach 66–67)

Victoria with two tropaea (Bellori-Reinach 67–69)

LVI. Marcus receives barbarians (Marcus-Säule, 72, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 101) (Bellori-Reinach 69–70)

LVII. Annihilation of hostile barbarians in a forest (Marcus-Säule,

72, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 101) (Bellori-Reinach 71–72)

LVIII. Surrender (Marcus-Säule, 72–73, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 101) (Bellori-Reinach 72–73)

LIX. Resettlement on Roman land (Marcus-Säule, 73, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 101–102) (Bellori-Reinach 73–74)

LX. Barbarian prisoners in front of Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 73, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 102) (Bellori-Reinach 75)

LXI. Decapitation of the major criminals (Marcus-Säule, 73–74, Zwikker 1941, 269, Caprino 1955, 102–103) (Bellori-Reinach 76)

LXII. Barbarians in front of the imperial *consilium* (Marcus-Säule, 74, 120, Zwikker 1941, 269–270, Caprino 1955, 103) (Bellori-Reinach 77)

LXIII. Assault on the Barbarians (Marcus-Säule, 74, 120, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 103) (Bellori-Reinach 78–80) Addition (Bellori-Reinach 80)

LXIV. The capture of their leaders (Marcus-Säule, 74–75, 120, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 103) (Bellori-Reinach 81)

LXV. Appearance of Roman cavalry with the same purpose (Marcus-Säule, 75, 120, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 103) (Bellori-Reinach 81–82)

LXVI. Presenting decapitated heads and a prisoner to the emperor (Marcus-Säule, 75, 120, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 103) (Bellori-Reinach 82–83)

LXVII. Marching (Marcus-Säule, 75, 120, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 104) (Bellori-Reinach 83–84)

LXVIII. Murdering escaping barbarians in a ravine (Marcus-Säule, 75, 120, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 104) (Bellori-Reinach 84–85)

LXIX. Resettlement of barbarians, identified based on their torques Cotini (Marcus-Säule, 75–76, 120–121, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 104) (Bellori-Reinach 85)

LXX. Struggle in the presence of the emperor (Marcus-Säule, 76, 121, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 104) (Bellori-Reinach 86–87)

Addition (Bellori-Reinach 87)

LXXI. Destruction of a settlement (Marcus-Säule, 76, 121, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 104–105) (Bellori-Reinach 88)

LXXII. Pursuit of fugitives (Marcus-Säule, 76, Zwikker 1941, Caprino 1955, 105) (Bellori-Reinach 89)

LXXIII. Driving away women and their animals (Marcus-Säule, 76–77, 121, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 105) (Bellori-Reinach 90–92)

LXXIV. Military parade in front of Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 77, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 105) (Bellori-Reinach 92–93)

LXXV. Marcus offers a sacrifice (Marcus-Säule, 77, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 105–106) (Bellori-Reinach 93)

LXXVI. Departure (Marcus-Säule, 77–78, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 106) (Bellori-Reinach 94–95)
Addition (Bellori-Reinach 95–97)

LXXVII. Capture of high-ranking barbarians (the king of the Quadi, Ariogaisos) (Marcus-Säule, 78, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 106) (Bellori-Reinach 98)

LXXVIII. Departure of troops, crossing a bridge, Marcus holds a military council (Marcus-Säule, 78, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 106) (Bellori-Reinach 99–100)

LXXIX. Clash with barbarians (Marcus-Säule, 78–80, 121, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 107) (Bellori-Reinach 101–102)
Addition (Bellori-Reinach 102)

LXXX. Marcus outside a Roman fort with his advisors (Marcus-Säule, 80, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 107) (Bellori-Reinach 103–104)

LXXXI. Crossing a river by boat (Marcus-Säule, 80, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 107) (Bellori-Reinach 104)

LXXXII. Construction of a fort (Marcus-Säule, 80, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 107) (Bellori-Reinach 105)

LXXXIII. *Adlocutio* (Marcus-Säule, 80–81, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 108) (Bellori-Reinach 105–106)

LXXXIV. Crossing a bridge (Marcus-Säule, 81, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 108) (Bellori-Reinach 106–107)

LXXXV. Leading away captured women (Marcus-Säule, 81–82, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 108) (Bellori-Reinach 108)

LXXXVI. Marcus receives a messenger (Marcus-Säule, 82, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 108–109) (Bellori-Reinach 108–109)

LXXXVII. Marcus returns to fort (Marcus-Säule, 82–83, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 109) (Bellori-Reinach 109)

LXXXVIII. The capture of a barbarian leader and his entourage (Marcus-Säule, 83–84, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 109) (Bellori-Reinach 110)

LXXXIX. Killing the barbarian leader's followers by the Roman cavalry by a river (Marcus-Säule, 84, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 109–110) (Bellori-Reinach 111)

XC. The arrival of Marcus and his entourage (Marcus-Säule, 84, 122, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 110) (Bellori-Reinach 112)

XCI. Two barbarian mounted messengers in front of Marcus in the company of Roman horsemen (Marcus-Säule, 84–85, 123, Zwikker 1941, 271, Caprino 1955, 110) (Bellori-Reinach 112)

XCII. Roman cavalry routs the enemy (Marcus-Säule, 85, 123, Zwikker 1941, 271–272, Caprino 1955, 110) (Bellori-Reinach 113–114)

XCIII. Marching with Marcus and carriages (Marcus-Säule, 85, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 110–111) (Bellori-Reinach 115–116)

XCIV. Construction of a fort (Marcus-Säule, 85, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 111) (Bellori-Reinach 116)

XCV. The Roman rear guard cavalry reaches the fort (Marcus-Säule, 85–86, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 111) (Bellori-Reinach 117)

XCVI. *Adlocutio* (Marcus-Säule, 86, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 111) (Bellori-Reinach 118)

XCVII. The barbarians suffer defeat, women are captured (Marcus-Säule, 86, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 111–112) (Bellori-Reinach 119–120)

XCVIII. Destruction of a settlement in the presence of Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 86–87, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 112) (Bellori-Reinach 121)

XCIX. Murdering inhabitants (Marcus-Säule, 87, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 112) (Bellori-Reinach 121–122)

C. *Adlocutio* (Marcus-Säule, 87, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 112) (Bellori-Reinach 123)

CI. Discussion and the arrival of a messenger (Marcus-Säule, 87–88, 123–124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 112–113) (Bellori-Reinach 123–124)

CII. Destruction of a barbarian village, the capture of the inhabitants (Marcus-Säule, 88, 123, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 113) (Bellori-Reinach 124–125)

CIII. The arrival of Marcus and the major forces (Marcus-Säule, 89, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 113) (Bellori-Reinach 126)

CIV. Capturing barbarian women (Marcus-Säule, 89–90, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 113–114) (Bellori-Reinach 127)

CV. Defeating the barbarians (Marcus-Säule, 90, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 114) (Bellori-Reinach 127–128)

CVI. The arrival of Marcus (Marcus-Säule, 90, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 114) (Bellori-Reinach 128)

CVII. The arrival of a barbarian messenger (Marcus-Säule, 90–91, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 114–115) (Bellori-Reinach 129)

CVIII. Marcus crosses a bridge with his troops (Marcus-Säule, 91, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272, Caprino 1955, 115) (Bellori-Reinach 130)

CIX. The garrison of the besieged Roman fort breaks out (the last battle scene) (Marcus-Säule, 91–92, 124, Zwikker 1941, 272–273, Caprino 1955, 115) (Bellori-Reinach 131–132)

CX. Supplies arrive at the fort (Marcus-Säule, 92, 124, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 115) (Bellori-Reinach 133–134)

CXI. Marching with the emperor, crossing a bridge (Marcus-Säule, 92–93, 124, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 115) (Bellori-Reinach 134–136)

CXII. *Deditio* (Marcus-Säule, 93, 124–125, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 116) (Bellori-Reinach 136–137)

CXIII. Roman troops resting by a stream (Marcus-Säule, 93–94, 125, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 116) (Bellori-Reinach 138)

CXIV. *Deditio* (Marcus-Säule, 94, 125, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 116) (Bellori-Reinach 139)

CXV. Relocation of barbarians (Marcus-Säule, 94, 125, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 116) (Bellori-Reinach 140–142)

CXVI. Capture of fugitives (Marcus-Säule, 94–95, 125, Zwikker 1941, 273, Caprino 1955, 117) (Bellori-Reinach 142–144)

Fig. 1. Marcus Aurelius' Column on the Piazza Colonna in Rome.

Fig. 2. Scenes X and XI: the emperor and the fort.

Fig. 3. Scene XI: the lightning miracle.

Fig. 4. Scene XI: the lightning miracle.

Fig. 5. Scene XVI: the rain miracle.

Fig. 6. Scene XVI: the rain miracle.

Fig. 7. Scene XVI: the rain miracle.

Fig. 8. Scene XVI: rain god.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MARCOMANNIC-QUADIAN ASSAULT ON ITALY

One of the direst events of the wars during Marcus Aurelius' reign was that, after many centuries, enemy troops again set foot on the land of Italy. Marcomann-Quadian troops besieged Aquileia and destroyed the town of Opitergium (Oderzo). The date of this famous event of the first war is much debated despite the relatively detailed ancient accounts. It has been dated to every year between A.D. 166 and 177; even A.D. 174(!) has been proposed.[1] The question examined in this chapter is whether the barbarians reached Italy by crossing the land of Pannonia on the Amber Road. This is made indisputable by the words of Ammianus as, according to him, their route took them through the *Alpes Iuliae*, located on the border between Italy and Pannonia.[2] Any other suggestions (such as an attack through Noricum) are no more than mere speculation.

The sources are:

Ammianus Marcellinus 29.6.1. *Quadorum natio motu est excita repentino, parum nun formidanda, sed inmensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens, ut indicant properata quondam raptu proclivi, obsessaque ab isdem ac Marcomannis Aquileia Opitergiumque excisum et cruenta conplura perceleri acta procinctu, vix resistente perruptis Alpibus Iuliis principe serio, quem ante docuimus, Marco.*

Cassius Dio LXXI.3.2. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤλασαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεινά· οἷς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἀντεπιὼν Πομπηιανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἀντικαθίστη. καὶ ἠρίστευσεν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὅστις καὶ ὕστερον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γυναικῶν σώματα ὡπλισμένα εὑρέθη.

Lucian Alex. Pseud. 48. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἕν τι καὶ μέγιστον τόλμημα τοῦ μιαροῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄκουσον. ἔχων γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν ἐπίβασιν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὸν Ῥουτιλιανὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα, διαπέμπεται χρησμὸν τοῦ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, ὅτε θεὸς Μάρκος ἤδη

[1] The only argument against this dating was that scene XIII of the column was connected with the lion sacrifice mentioned by Lucian and the latter scene stands after the portrayal of the rain miracle (XVI) dated to 174.

[2] PWRE Suppl. 13 (1973) 11–14.

τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις καὶ Κουάδοις συνεπλέκετο. ἠξίου δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς δύο λέοντας ἐμβληθῆναι ζῶντας εἰς τὸν Ἴστρον μετὰ πολλῶν ἀρωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν μεγαλοπρεπῶν. ἄμεινον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμόν·

Ἐς δίνας Ἴστροιο διιπετέος ποταμοῖο
ἐσβαλέειν κέλομαι δοιοὺς Κυβέλης θεράποντας,
θῆρας ὀριτρεφέας, καὶ ὅσα τρέφει Ἰνδικὸς ἀὴρ
ἄνθεα καὶ βοτάνας εὐώδεας· αὐτίκα δ' ἔσται
νίκη καὶ μέγα κῦδος ἅμ' εἰρήνῃ ἐρατεινῇ.

γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὡς προσέταξεν, τοὺς μὲν λέοντας ἐκνηξαμένους εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν οἱ βάρβαροι ξύλοις κατειργάσαντο ὥς τινας κύνας ἢ λύκους ξενικούς· αὐτίκα δὲ τὸ μέγιστον τραῦμα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγένετο, δισμυρίων που σχεδὸν ἀθρόων ἀπολομένων. εἶτα ἐπηκολούθησε τὰ περὶ Ἀκυληΐαν γενόμενα καὶ ἡ παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἅλωσις. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀποβεβηκὸς τὴν Δελφικὴν ἐκείνην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κροίσου χρησμὸν ψυχρῶς παρῆγεν· νίκην μὲν γὰρ προειπεῖν τὸν θεόν, μὴ μέντοι δηλῶσαι Ῥωμαίων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων.

The HA *v. Marci* does not directly refer to the event with a single word; it is hard not to see this as an intentional omission by the compiler of the vita.[3]

The following significant researchers argued for the following years:

A.D. 166: Domaszewski 1895, 112, Th. Mommsen, in. Marcus-Säule, 25, Dobiáš 1932, 151–153.
A.D. 167: Schwendemann 1923, 169, Alföldi 1942, 193, Šašel 1974, 231, Šašel Kos 1987, 240, Genser 1986, 771, Rosen 1994, Kerr 1995.
A.D. 168: Mócsy 1962, 552–553, Šašel 1974, 231, Mócsy 1974, 187, Šašel Kos 1987, 240.
A.D. 169: Conrad 1889, 14, Seeck 1922, 580, Dobiáš 1932, 151–153, Fitz 1966, Kerler 1970, 59–68, Oliver 1972, 83, Régészeti kézikönyv, 38–39.
A.D. 170: Nagy 1962, 43, 96, j. 136, Nagy 1968, Birley 1968, Oliver 1972, 83, Alföldy 1974, 153, Böhme 1975, 153, 162, 170, Birley 1987, 163–164, 250–251, Scheidel 1990, Strobel 2001, 118–119.
A.D. 171: Zwikker 1941, 178, 180, 228, Swoboda 1964, 52–53, Alföldy 1974, 153.
A.D. 172: PWRE XVIII (1959) 690.
A.D. 174: Seeck 1910, 581.

[3] Nagy 1962, 43.

The main reasons for the individual dates are:

A.D. 166–167:

1. Based on *vita Marci* 13.1 it is clear and indisputable that the 167 *lectisternium* and the use of the *peregrini ritus* were caused by the *timor belli Marcomannici* not by the epidemic.[4] According to the continuation of the vita (14.2), the emperors went to Aquileia *(cum Aquileiam usque venissent), nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt,* and this retreat can be interpreted as if the barbarians had not retreated from a provincial area, but from Aquileia. In this case the conjunction *nam* in 14.2 may refer explicitly to a barbarian retreat. This interpretation, however, does not conform to the data from of the rest of the sources, as they date the event explicitly to the time of Marcus' reign.

2. Based on another passage in the *vita Marci* (14.6), in 168 the two emperors *composueruntque omnia quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant*: the creation of the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* is normally related to this event (cf. ILS 8977 = AÉp 1893, 88); it would have followed the incursion into Italia.

3. The textually corrupt ending of Ammianus 29.6.1 has been restored by Rosen as: *primicerius V primicerio* Gelenius *principe serio* Valesius *principe Pio* Heraeus *Arimini curatore* Rosen…*Marico* V, E, Gelenius, *marito* A *Marco* Valesius *Macrinio* Rosen. Based on this new emendation the weak resistance against the invading barbarians would have been shown by the troops organised by M. Macrinius Avitus *curator Arimini* (cf. CIL VI 1449 = ILS 1107+G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8, 3 p. 4700). This idea, however, is hardly plausible as:

a. The new interpretation does not consider several letters in other manuscripts (IUS, IO), uses non-existent letters (uses A instead of P; uses U instead of E), and gratuitously imagines an abbreviation similar to an inscription as:

   PRIMICER>ARIMICVR.

b. The same facts prevail in the case of the Marico>Macrinio supposed textual corruption.

c. The date 167 is also not possible due to the known *cursus honorum* of

[4] Rosen 1994, 92–93.

M. Macrinius Avitus Vindex, as can more or less be reconstructed according to the CIL VI 1449 = ILS 1107 inscription from that period:[5]
praef. alae III Thrac.
praef. alae contar.
proc. prov. Daciae Malvensis
cur. civit. Arimini

Vindex, as the *praefectus alae*, took part in the supression of the Langobard-Obian invasion (LXXI.3.1) during his *militia tertia* or *quarta* and it would be unjustified to date this any earlier than the winter of 166–167. Bassus, the Upper Pannonian *legatus* mentioned by Dio, could hardly have been in office in 165 if he was *comes* of Lucius Versus in the Parthian war (CIL XII 2718–2719). The earliest date of his Pannonian office would have to be after he returned from the campaign at the end of A.D. 166.[6] The idea that he was summoned earlier is unprovable and unlikely. Vindex, in the position of *ducenarius* following the *militia quarta*, could hardly have been the procurator of the new province of Dacia Malvensis for only one year. His curatorship in Ariminum was more likely part of his senatorial career, which cannot be dated much before 170.

d. It is not clear why the resistance would have been directed from Ariminum instead of Aquileia.
e. According to description CIL VI 1449 = ILS 1107 it is clear that Vindex received his decorations from Marcus as the sole ruler still as *equo publico*, therefore a dating to 167 is out of the question.[7]
f. The emperors would hardly have entrusted a *curator civitatis* with commanding a war.[8]

Based on all this, the emendation suggested by Rosen is not satisfactory; therefore the only acceptable suggestion that is in perfect harmony with the other two sources is: *principe...Marco*. Additionally, the adjectives *serio* and *pio* referring to Marcus *Divo* are a possibility; moreover,

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[5] Fitz 1993, 834–836, Nr. 504, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8, 3 p. 4700.
[6] Fitz 1993, 488–493, Nr. 290.
[7] Fitz 1966, 359, T. Nagy, Les dona militaria de M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex. In: Hommage à M. Renard II. Collection Latomus 102, 1969, 536–546.
[8] G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8, 3 p. 4700.

this would also provide a solution for the objections raised by Rosen. It remains a fact that Ammianus Marcellinus never used attributes in relation to Marcus anywhere else (apart from XVI.1.4: *clemens*), he most often referred to him as (*princeps*) *Marcus* (e.g. 14.4.2, 16.1.4, 22.5.4, 27.6.16).

A.D. 168: Based on the passage in the *vita Marci* mentioned above, another invasion can be dated to 168 (14.6), which Verus also seems to have emphasized in his words urging Marcus to return to Rome: *et Lucius quidem, quod amissus esset praef. pr<a>etorio Furius Victorinus, <a>tqu[a]e pars exercitus interisset, redeundum esse[t] censebat.* Since Zwikker's book this possibility has engendered a strong counter-argument,[9] that the verb *interire* used by the author of the *Historia Augusta* does not necessarily refer to falling in battle, but could also stand for death from an illness.[10] In such cases, however, normally the expression *morbo interire* was used: cf. v Veri 9.2, v. Tac. 13.5). Unfortunately, the statue base of Furius Victorius erected in Trajan's forum is not much help either in deciding the question (CIL VI 1937* = 39440A = 41143 = II 396* = V 648* = XIV 440* = ILS 9002) as the missing part is exactly the end of the inscription, where the circumstances of his death are noted (e.g., whether he died in battle like Fronto).[11] In the continuation of the story, Marcus' reply supports this argument further:

> 14.5–7. *Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et fugam et cetera, quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole premerentur, instandum esse ducebat. denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant.*[12]

In the case of the siege and defeat around Aquileia this would not have been justified. The dating to 167, however, is not supported by this argument either, as Verus would not have mentioned the defeat suffered a year earlier as a motive for his suggestions to return. Luckily, however, Galen clearly provides the reason behind the abrupt departure for Rome:

> De libr. propr. XIX. p. 18, 8–15. ἐπιβάντος οὖν μου τῆς Ἀκυληίας κατέσκηψεν ὁ λοιμὸς ὡς οὔπω πρότερον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας αὐτίκα φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς

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[9] Zwikker 1941, 57–67.

[10] C. Lessing, Scriptorum Historiae Augustae Lexicon. Hildesheim 1964, 287.

[11] Cf. G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 4953.

[12] Nagy 1968.

> πολλοὺς μόλις ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ διασωθῆναι πλείστων ἀπολλυμένων οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸν λοιμὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέσου χειμῶνος εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα (cf. De praenot. XIV pp. 649–650).

Namely, the rulers, who originally intended to spend the winter of 168–169 in Aquileia, fled to Rome from a ravaging epidemic devastating the army as well as the population. One of the victims of this epidemic was the praetorian prefect.

A.D. 169–171: A dating to the period following the death of Lucius Verus is supported by the fact that all three sources name Marcus as the sole emperor, therefore the event had to occur after the death of Lucius Verus in early 169. There are strong reasons for individual years within this argument as well.

169: According to the wording of Cassius Dio, Marcus sent Pompeianus and Pertinax against the invading Germans. The assignment of Pompeianus can be dated to the early autumn of 169, when the emperor, leaving for war, gave him his daughter, Verus' widow, in marriage:

> vita Marci 20.6. *Proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non decurs<o> luctus tempore grand<a>evo equitis Romani filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antioc<h>ensi nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia.*

The hasty marriage (only half a year had passed since the death of the other emperor), well beneath his status, became necessary as Marcus was in a military emergency and he saw Pompeianus as a guarantee for a successful defence (cf. the new *elogium* of Pompeianus from Rome that can be dated to 169: CIL VI 41120).

A.D. 170–171: Although Lucian did not primarily intend to discuss historical issues in his work, he provided a relatively exact dating for the events: τοῦ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, ὅτε θεὸς Μάρκος ἤδη τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις καὶ Κουάδοις συνεπλέκετο. According to his account, the events took place as follows: 1. based on a prophecy showing a sacrifice on the banks of the Danube before the start of the campaign; 2. it was immediately followed by a (αὐτίκα) Roman defeat with 20 000 dead; 3. this was followed by the siege of Aquileia: εἶτα ἐπηκολούθησε τὰ περὶ Ἀκυληΐαν γενόμενα καὶ ἡ παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἅλωσις.

Apart from these data, Fitz argued for the year A.D. 169 as follows:

1. Marcus did not give up his *Parthicus Maximus* and *Armeniacus* titles by accident only because of Verus' death (cf. *vita Marci* 12.9. *sed Marcus tanta fuit moderatione, ut, cum simul triumphasset, tamen post mortem Luci<i>[m] tantum Germanicum se vocaret, quod sibi bello prop<r>io peperat)*, but because of the defeat, just as he did at the beginning of the second Marcomannic war in 178 (cf. BMC IV (1936) p. 501). Fitz believed that he had discovered the coherence of the *Historia Augusta* in the statement referring to Marcus' modesty. This assumption, however, is not at all certain, as:

a. Marcus was reluctant to accept these titles from the beginning (*vita Marci* 9.2. *quod Marcus per verecundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit*)
b. Why should he have given up the titles of an earlier victory, over the Parthians, because of a defeat suffered against the Germans?
c. At the beginning of the second German war he gave up the titles of *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus* because of defeats by the Germans and the Sarmatians. With this act he simply wished to indicate that the question was not settled, he would no longer bear these titles. The war did not end until his death in March, 180.

2. The Roman defeat taking the lives of 20 thousand people is an event that occurred during the earlier *expeditio*.
3. The effect of the Roman defeat would be traceable on the Roman coin types in the 2nd emission of 169 following the death of Verus (and the defeat). The main problem with this is that the 2nd emission was only released in the second half of the year and the modification of coin types that were minted from December, 168, was already necessary at that time.[13]
4. Many coin hoards terminate in 168–169: Gummern, Witzelsberg (near Vindobona), Carnuntum, Mocsolád, Baranyavár, and Katafa.[14] The problem with the last is that it is not at all certain that the latest coins in the hoards mean the year when they were hidden (as in the case of the Veronese coin hoard);[15] moreover, how could a connection be established with the utmost certainty between limes-area

[13] Cf. Scheidel 1989, 6–7.
[14] Fitz 1966, 356–359, Farkas 2000.
[15] Birley 1968, 216, n. 5, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, 15, Anm. 42, Scheidel 1989, 2, Anm. 8, Régészeti kézikönyv, 213.

coin hoards and the event of the invasion of Italia? It is possible that the Veronese coin hoard, which is truly in connection with the event, terminates in 166.[16]

Birley's principal arguments for the year 170 are:

1. The data indicating a loss of 20 000 people suggests a gigantic expeditionary army that would probably not have left without the emperor being present or at least nearby.
2. Ammianus gives an specific account of Marcus' weak resistance; therefore the events are to be dated to after 169.
3. The expedition mainly refers to Marcus' campaign that started in the second half of 169. That a significant amount of time had to lapse between the Roman defeat and the invasion is not a natural conclusion that can be drawn from Lucian's text; therefore the events are related to each other logically: 1. The Romans were defeated; 2. The invasion exploited their defeat.
4. There might be a relationship between the campaign and the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Costoboci and Sarmatians, which followed the death of Marcus Claudius Fronto, the *legatus* of the Moesia Superior and three Daciae combined (CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142 pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098; for the date of his death in 170: CIL III 7505 = ILS 2311).
5. Although Lucian does not mention Marcus' personal participation some data still seem to support this interpretation:

a. The oracle's influence on the emperor and court (ἔχων γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν ἐπίβασιν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τὸν Ῥουτιλιανὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα).
b. Although indirect, there is a reference to Marcus' involvement: (ὅτε θεὸς Μάρκος ἤδη τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις καὶ Κουάδοις συνεπλέκετο).

6. Recently, Scheidel has provided new numismatic data related to Birley's arguments.[17] Due to Szaviert's examinations, it was possible to distinguish among the various series of coin mintings of Marcus'

[16] Schwendemann 1923, 169, Rosen 1994, 100.
[17] Scheidel 1989.

era.[18] During these examinations it became clear that minting the coins of emission 19, starting at the beginning of 170 and referring to the start of the campaign (*Profectio, Fortuna Redux, Adlocutio*), suddenly ceased around April, 170. Following this, new types of coins were minted in emission 20, with the legend COS III. These were only *denarii* and only for the purposes of the army, while the release of medallions in 171 was cancelled—this had never happened in the entire history of the war.[19] From all these data Szaviert drew the logical conclusion that some extraordinary event had to have occurred during the spring of 170 that could not have been anything else but the defeat and the subsequent barbarian invasion of the territory of Italia.

According to Zwikker,[20] contemplating the years 170 and 171, the year 171 is supported by the following arguments:

1. In the continuation of the story described by Dio (LXXI.3.3–4) the great victory is probably related to the IVth imperial acclamation of Marcus, which he received during the summer of 171.
2. The prosopographical data referring to the figures participating in the events are not negated by the acclamation letter.

Based on all these data, the substantive questions under consideration were as follows:

1. Is there any reference to the events in the *vita Marci*?
2. How did the *praetentura* relate to the invasion?
3. Can a relationship be established between the defeat mentioned by Lucian and any other event (passage, inscription)?
4. What effects did the events have on the two Pannoniae, their military history, and administration?

1. As I have already set forth, the *vita Marci* follows the chronological order of the original biography with minor deviations, therefore one

[18] Szaivert 1986.
[19] Scheidel 1989, 8–13.
[20] Zwikker 1941, 150–189.

also expects the occurrence of the events of the years 169–171 in the biography.[21]

17.1–3. The short summary of the Marcomannic war.
4–6. Auctioning off his wealth,
A.D. 169 (Eutr. VIII.13).
7. Picturesque games.

18.1–8. Death, Marcus' honour (cf. Eutr. VIII.14).
19.1–7. The Faustina story.
8–12. The virtues of Marcus.

20.1–5. Verus' burial at the beginning of A.D. 169.
20.6–7. Pompeianus' marriage in 169.

21.1–2. The Moors' invasion of Hispania, Bucoli in Egypt around A.D. 172.

21.3–5. His son's death, leaving for war in the autumn of 169.
21.6–8. Special conscriptions.
21.9. Auctions in A.D. 169.
21.10. Victory over the withdrawing Marcomanni
at the Danube, A.D. 171?

Although, because of the passages following Eutropius the emperor's auction in 169 was mentioned twice, chapters XX–XXI consistently comply with the chronology: 1. Verus' death and burial; 2. Pompeianus' marriage; 3. Departure for war; 4. Prior to this, auctions and irregular conscriptions; 5. Victory over the Marcomanni. One can sense hiatus in two passages of the narrative: 1. Why did Lucilla, Verus' widow, have to re-marry Pompeianus so quickly and beneath her rank, and why him exactly, even before the start of the campaign? 2. What happened in the period between the departure for war and the victory over the Marcomanni, as the last sentence of the chapter has no relation whatsoever to the preceding ones? The answer to both questions is the same, namely, the Marcomann-Quadian invasion. The reasons for

[21] Domaszewski 1895, 114–115, 118, Schwendemann 1923, 67–78, 178–180, Zwikker 1941, 180–181, Fitz 1966, 346–351, Strobel 2001, 110–111.

Pompeianus' marriage appear in *vita Pertinacis*: 2.4. *et postea per Claudium Pompeianum, generum Marci, quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est*, i.e., he would have liked to entrust his aging son-in-law with the leadership of the military staff from the very beginning anyway.[22] This section of the *vita Marci*, therefore, does not make it possible to decide whether the invasion took place in 169 or 170. For 170 it can be argued that it does not refer to the beginning of the campaign of Marcus at all, which suggests that it might not have been an overwhelming success. Based on all this, the same conclusion is supported: the person assembling the *vita* was strongly biased in the use of his sources. He omitted the negative elements of the idealised emperor—in this case the defeat and the Italian campaign—even though these must have been present in his sources (cf. the defeat prior to the 172 victory, where the praetorian prefect Vindex also fell, earning Marcus his title *Germanicus*: Dio LXXI.3.5).

Cassius Dio's historical books, more precisely Xiphilinus' epitome, discuss the events in the same chronological order:

259, 9. The death of Verus, A.D. 169.
259, 10–13. The summary of the Marcomannic wars, the personal participation of Marcus, A.D. 169 (LXXI.3.1)
259, 13–26. The assault on Italy and counter-offensive (LXXI.3.2)
The victory of Pertinax, reconquering the right bank of the Danube,
The VIth imperial acclamation of the emperor (LXXI.3.3–4), A.D. 170–171.

From all of the above one can draw the following conclusions: 1. The invasion took place after Verus' death; 2. According to the narrative, the invasion took place first, the assignment of Pompeianus and Pertinax happened only afterwards:...οἷς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἀντεπιὼν Πομπηιανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἀντικαθίστη. Based on Cassius Dio, therefore, one can conclude that the invasion should be dated to the year 169. Based on Zwikker, another issue seems to be almost certain: the victory described by the *vita Marci*, namely, the victory over the withdrawing Marcomanni (21.10), is without doubt the same as the

[22] Compare the depictions on Marcus' Column, where the old figure regularly appearing in the company of the emperor can probably be identified as Pompeianus: Marcus-Säule, 43–44.

victory described by Cassius Dio (LXXI.3.3–4); moreover, this is related to the emperor's VIth acclamation in 171, therefore the victory event can be dated to 171.[23]

2. The area of *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*, under special administration created temporarily during the Marcomannic wars, had decisive importance for the defence of Italy. Although the exact area and administrative structure of this district is more or less known, the creation date is much debated; arguments have been made for almost all the years between 168 and 171, depending on the year the individual researcher used to date the Italian invasion of the Marcomann-Quadian troops. In relation to the creation of the *praetentura* a section of the *vita Marci* quoted earlier (14.6) has been mentioned by many; according to this the emperors, during their campaign of 168, *composueruntque omnia quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant.* Apart from this, the exact name of the *praetentura* is known from the inscription that Quintus Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus erected during his German governorship between 171 and174 (ILS 8977 = AÉp 1893, 88, CIL VI 41119). Before being a legate of *Germania Inferior*, Adventus was *leg(atus) Aug(usti) at praetenturam Italiae et Alpium expeditione Germanica*; before that he had held the office of the *cura operum locorumq(ue) publicorum*, while before that he had been the governor of Arabia.[24] One conclusion can be drawn from his career; the *praetentura* was directed by a *consularis*, therefore he had at least two legions at his disposal. The question of when he started his assignment, however, is fiercely debated. What is certain is that he took part in the Parthian war of Lucius Verus as the *legatus* of the *legio II adiutrix*, after which he became the governor of Arabia. The most probable scenario is that he served as governor only from the end of the war; however, an earlier, albeit definitely post-164 date, can also not be excluded (see the opinion of Degrassi). Following this he first became *consul suffectus* (unless he became a *cos.* while he was absent), and this was followed by his curatorship in Rome. Accordingly, calculated from his office starting sometime between 164 and 166, considering the average time of the governorship (three years) and his other duties, Adventus could have been appointed to be the head of the *praetentura* in any year between A.D. 168 and 170; based on his *cursus honorum* it

[23] Zwikker, 178–179, Nagy 1962, 44, Birley 1987, 168–169.

[24] Zwikker 1941, 162–163, Degrassi 1954, 116, Swoboda 1964, 251–252, Fitz 1966, 339–340, Nagy 1968, 348–349, Birley 1968, 219–220, Šašel 1974, 225, 229, Birley 1987, 164, 251, Fitz 1993, 603–605, Nr. 344, FPA 2, 112–113.

could have been either year, but the period following the death of Lucius Verus is much more probable. From the term *legatus Aug(usti)* and not *Augg(ustorum)* on the inscription it is clear that his *legatus* title was given to him by either Marcus alone or he held the office for a longer period during Marcus' sole reign. These data only support the conclusion that Adventus held office for a considerable time, whether he had a predecessor or successor is unknown; therefore, based on the inscription, the date of the establishment of the *praetentura* is still not certain.

For this reason one must rely on the data of the written sources yet again. The above piece of data from the *vita Marci* does not necessarily mean that *munimen Italiae* refers to the establishment of the *praetentura*, however, as was generally proposed earlier.[25] It could stand for the reinforcement of the Illyrian troops defending Italia,[26] but one cannot exclude the possibility that it stands for the establishment of the *praetentura*.[27] If the earlier date is accepted it is necessary to accept that the establishment of the *praetentura* was not related to the Italian invasion. As many have observed, one of Ammianus' phrases may also refer to this fact (29.6.1): *perruptis Alpibus Iuliis*. In the ablative absolute the most probable meaning of the verb *perrumpere* is "breaking through," which means that the historian may be referring to the breaking through of an already existing line of defence.[28] Nevertheless, could this line be identical with the *praetentura*? Locally in any case, but a defence line under the direction of a *consular legatus*, reinforced with two legions, could hardly have displayed such weak resistance (see the words of Ammianus: *vix resistente...principe...Marco*). The epigraphic data are ambiguous and the inscriptions of the period are from the years 168 and 170. An exciting, unfortunately very fragmentary, construction tablet was found in Atrans (CIL III 11675 = ILJ 382 = AÉp 1958, 247), according to which Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had something built in the area of the Noricum border station.[29] This building, however, could also have been a sanctuary, therefore it is by no means certain that it had to do with the establishment of the *praentura*, although one cannot exclude the possibility. The nature of the building is not clear (*horreum*: some

[25] Schwendemann 1923, 173–175.
[26] Fitz 1966, 340.
[27] E.g. Birley 1987, 251.
[28] For the first time Nagy 1968, 349–350, Šašel 1974, 227, Anm. 9, Birley 1987, 251.
[29] TIR L-33 Trieste (Tergeste). Roma 1961, 26, PWRE II (1896) 2137.

kind of stronghold?).[30] The inscriptions referring to the construction of the city wall of Salona built in A.D. 170 undoubtedly date it to after the German invasion (CIL III 1979 = ILS 2616, CIL III 1980, 6374 = ILS 2617: builders: vex. legio II pia and III concors, coh. I and II [mill.] Del.). Judging by the relatively short sections built by the units (ped. CC, DCCC+1 tower) the walls were erected in quite a hurry.[31] Based on the previous inscriptions it remains an open question whether the invasion took place in 169 or 170; the building inscriptions allow for the dating to either year.

The geographical area of the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* is still debated up to the present; the best possible scenario is that it roughly corresponded with the area of the later *claustra Alpium Iuliarum*,[32] although some hold that it was a gigantic area spreading from Raetia to Dalmatia, with the provinces of Raetia and Noricum included after the danger threatening Italy was gone.[33] What seems certain is that the area of the *praetentura* was created by carving land off the territories of Italia, Noricum, and Pannonia for the duration of the war.

A much more exciting and possibly more important issue is the two legions participating in the war and the question of their station. Everyone accepts that these two legions can be identified with *legio II* and *III Italica*, recruited in the area of Italy before autumn, 166, and organized because of the danger of a war starting with the Germans. It is a fact that vexillations of these two troops took part in the construction of the city walls of Salona (cf. CIL III 1979 = ILS 2616). It is also certain that the *legio II Italica* was stationed at the legionary fort of Ločica (partially excavated), located near Celeia, from A.D. 171 at the latest.[34] According to inscriptions, the fort of the *legio III Italica* can be identified as Tridentum (CIL V 5032, 5036: the first inscription mentions a *tribunus*, the second a person entrusted with providing supplies for the legion (*allectus annon[ae] leg[ionis] III Italic[ae]*).[35] The dating of the Ločica fort is based on stamped tiles found in the area of the fort bearing the legion's *Italica* title,, whereas the Salona inscription only

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[30] J. Šašel,, Add. ad CIL III 11675 Atrans, Nor. Živa Antika 4, 1954, 200–208.

[31] Zwikker 1941, 175–176, Fitz 1966, 341.

[32] Šašel 1973, Šašel 1974, Claustra.

[33] Zwikker 1941, 162–166, Fitz 1968, 48–50.

[34] M. Kandler, Zu den Grabungen F. Lorgers im Legionslager von Ločica (Lotschitz). Arheološki Vestnik 30. 1979, 172–207.

[35] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1533, Fitz 1985, 124. Debates this, but offers no better solution: Dietz 2000, 134, 138.

reads *pia.*[36] The latter data should not really be accepted as thoroughly proven. The inconsistent usage of titles cannot be excluded in the case of a vexillation of legions set up only recently. Nothing proves that the *Italica* title, which refers to the recruitment place of the personnel and not to their station, would only be applied later (cf. Dio LV 24.4, Oros. 7.15.6, CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142 + pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098, AÉp 1956, 23). This may be true especially if the inscriptions of Tridentum (CIL V 5032, 5036) are really the proof that the *legio III Italica* was stationed there at the time, as on both inscriptions only the *Italica* title is present. Moreover, if the *praetentura* had been established before 170 then the first garrison of the legion and the relocation of the camp would be uncertain. Based on all this, therefore, neither can the earlier date for establishing the fort—before 171—be disregarded. Only a small section of the stone fort has been excavated (543 × 435 m, 23.3 ha); its earlier phase or transitional camp is unknown. The excavated stone buildings, channels, and defences indicate preparation for permanent occupation and do not seem to be the signs of a temporary camp. The brick stamp of the legion with the title *pia fidelis* is known from a nearby brickyard (Vransko), which also supports the existence of a permanent station.[37] When the legion was first stationed by the Danube in Eining, then in Lauriacum, is unknown, but it is hardly a question that the latter base had to be related to the termination of the *praetentura* in A.D. 172.[38]

Based on the above it is not certain that the establishment of the *praetentura* took place after the invasion. If it did, then, based on this data, one can still not establish the exact year of the attack: it could have been 169 just as well as 170. One thing remains certain: the *praetentura* did exist with its two legions in A.D. 170. The Salona inscriptions serve as indisputable evidence for this fact.

3. The question of the exact dating of the invasion could be decided by establishing the date for the colossal defeat with a loss of 20 000 soldiers prior to the invasion, as mentioned by Lucian (Alex. 48). From the period of the first Marcomannic war there are data about the losses from a Roman point of view:

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[36] AIJ p. 2, Winkler 1969, 70–71, Lőrincz 2000, 147.

[37] Lőrincz 2000, 147.

[38] Šašel 1974, 232–233, PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1470, Bechert 1971, 247, Lőrincz 2000, 147.

a. The destruction of Furius Victorinus, praetorian prefect, and his troops in 168: *vita Marci* 14.6. As explained above, this event was probably caused by an epidemic.
b. The death of M. Claudius Fronto, the joint *legatus* of Moesia Superior and the three Daciae (PIR^2 C 874) in 170 A.D.: CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142 pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098.
c. The defeat causing a loss of 20 000 men following the unfortunate prophecy of Alexander: Lucian Alex. 48.
d. The death of M. Vindex *praef. praet.* in 172. The ensuing victory ensured Marcus the title of *Germanicus*: Dio LXXI.3.5.

As noted above, the events around the death of Furius Victorinus may be attributable to the epidemic. The inscription erected for M. Claudius Fronto, the joint *legatus* of Moesia Sup. and the three Dacias *post aliquot (!) secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Iazyges ad postremum pro r(e) p(ublica) fortiter pugnans ceciderit*, therefore, could even apply to these events.[39] Lucian's description, however, does not correspond with this solution: 1. the sacrifice took place on the bank of the Istros; 2. the war was fought against the Marcomanni and the Quadi; the defeat directly followed the sacrifice (αὐτίκα); it is unlikely that the author would have thought about an event (the defeat of Fronto) so far away in time and space. Although the governor was fighting the Germans and the Sarmatians, these events certainly took place in areas neighbouring Dacia; they would not have occurred on the lands of the Lower Danubian provinces (at least it is doubtful that the Germans would have been there). In all probability Vindex died in 172 during the Roman military campaign into barbarian land, much later than the invasion of Italy. Lucian therefore could not have been referring to this event.

e. There is just one more piece of direct information about some kind of defeat in Pannonia Superior around 170. C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, as the *legatus* of *legio XIII gemina*, was also entrusted *cum iurisdicatu Pannoniae Superioris* (AÉp 1920, 45 = ILAfr 281).[40] Earlier, he had been the (maybe the first) *legatus* of *legio III Italica*; follow-

[39] Zwikker 1941, 157–159, 165–166.
[40] Zwikker 1941, 159, Fitz 1966, 361–364, Fitz 1993, 496–499, Nr. 294.

ing this, directly after his assignment in Gaul, he again became a legionary commander in Upper Pannonia. There could only have been two reasons for his assignment:

1. The *legatus* of the province had died (probably in battle). The *legatus* in question was probably C. Iul. Commodus Orfitianus (CIL III 10595 = RIU 752, RIU 772).[41]
2. In the opinion of Fitz, the assignment of Sabinianus can be compared to that of Claudius Maximus, who aided Aelius Caesar during his activities in Pannonia as joint governor of the two Pannoniae (CIL III 10336 = ILS 1062 = RIU 1499: *iuridicus pr. pr. utriusque Pannoniae*). According to Fitz, in this case the assignment of the legionary commander could have been because of the joint supervision of the two Pannoniae under Pompeianus.[42]

These two possibilities raise serious support for the first option, as there are no data about any kind of joint supervision and the nature of Pompeianus' assignment is unknown. In contrast to Claudius Maximus, Sabinianus was also serving as a *legatus legionis* and that is why the most likely scenario is that he was awarded unexpectedly, not in a previously planned way, his special *iuridicatus* in the middle of the war. The event during which he died could indeed be related to the defeat mentioned by Lucian. As the year of the (possible) death of the *legatus Aug.* cannot be dated exactly, the dating must remain as 169–170.

Based on all this, 169 and 170 can both be considered as possible years for the German invasion: 1. The *praetentura* was not necessarily established as an outcome; 2. According to Cassius Dio's data, 169 seems reasonable; 3. This, however, is not reinforced by Lucian. There is only one direct reason for this: no data are available that would indicate that the Romans would have embarked on such a large-scale venture involving an army of at least 20 000 soldiers (at least two legions and auxiliary troops) in 169, following Venus' death and before Marcus' arrival (in autumn, 169). Such a campaign is most likely to have taken place only after Marcus' arrival. Even though the sources seem to obscure the events, except for Ammianus (HA omits it, Lucian does

[41] Fitz 1993, 493–494, Nr. 291.
[42] Fitz 1993, 571.

not refer to it directly), the conclusion seems evident that emperor must have been present at the defeat and the invasion of Italy.[43]

Since Birley's proposal it has been customary to compare the Costobocian (and Sarmatian) invasion destroying Eleusis (Paus. X.34.5, Ael. Ar. Or. XXII (Eleusinos), Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 19, 1895, 119, Nr. 2 = IG II^2 3411)[44] automatically with the Italian campaign.[45] This, however, would only be possible if the events could be dated with great certainty to one single year. Furthermore, the HA omitted the event and Lucian omitted the presence of the emperor from his narrative. According to the *subscriptio* of Aelius Aristides' Eleusinius, he gave the speech in Smyrna during the proconsulship of Macrinus in the 12th month (August), when he was 53 years and six months of age.[46] As Aristides was probably born in November, 117, in spite of the faulty data (Behr's emendation seems to be the most suitable: instead of δωδεκάτῳ: Λώῳ δεκάτῳ) the speech must have occurred in 171 (June), therefore the Costobocian invasion mentioned therein can be dated to the same year.[47] The assignment of L. Iulius Vehilius Gallus Iulianus cannot be dated exactly; before being sent against the Mauri invading Hispania in 172–173,[48] he was *praep(ositus) vexillationis per Achaiam et Macedoniam... adversus Castabocas* (CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327).[49] This only provides information on the direction of the invasion of the Balkans, not the exact year: 170 and 171 are both possible. Moreover, it is not at all certain that M. Cl. Fronto died in battle against the Costoboci;[50] the inscription only mentions Germans and Sarmatians.

4. The creation of the *praetentura* had to concern the administration of Upper Pannonia and Pannonian areas were probably also connected

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[43] Nagy 1962, 43, 96, j. 136.

[44] A. von Premerstein, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus II. Klio 12, 1912, 139–178, PWRE XI (1922) 1505–1507, Zwikker 1941, 166–172, Scheidel 1989.

[45] Birley 1987, 164–165, 168, 251–252.

[46] Ἐλευσίνιος ἐγράφη ὅσον ἐν ὥρᾳ ἐν Σμύρνῃ μηνὶ δωδεκάτῳ, ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνος Μακρίνου, ἐτῶν ὄντι 'νγ καὶ μηνῶν 'ς, ἐλέχθη ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτερίῳ.

[47] Zwikker 1941, 167, 170–172, Scheidel 1989, 496–497, C. A. Behr, Aelius Aristides' birth date corrected to November 26, A.D. 117 AJPh 90, 1969, 75–77, C. A. Behr, Aelius Aristides and the sacred tales. Amsterdam 1968, 3, Anm. 2, A. Humbel, Ailios Aristeides: Klage über Eleusis (oratio 22). Lesetext, Übersetzung und Kommentar. In: Arbeiten zur antiken Religionsgeschichte 3. Wiener Studien Beiheft 19. Wien 1994, 38–45.

[48] Alföldy 1985, 101, Alföldy 1987, 473, Anm. 37.

[49] Zwikker 1941, 168–170, Birley 1987, 165, 168, Scheidel 1989, 494–495.

[50] Birley 1987, 164–165, 251.

to the defence areas. Earlier, I have already expressed my opinion[51] that Emona in fact belonged to Pannonia in the 1st and 2nd centuries (the data of Pliny and Ptolemy make this statement indisputable: Nat. hist. III.147, Geog. II.14.5, VIII.7.2), and, in agreement with the opinion of Degrassi, the *colonia* and its *territorium* must have been transferred to Italy at the time the *praetentura* was established.[52] Herodian provides the earliest data for establishing the *praetentura* in relation to the Italian campaign of Maximinus Thrax (VIII.1.4), according to whom, arriving from Pannonia, the city πρώτη Ἰταλίας πόλις.

In my opinion, Galen's two loci can decide the question.[53] In his work on the prognosis (De praecog. 9.8 = XIV.649–650), Galen wrote that the war unexpectedly continued after 169: παρὰ προσδοκίαν δ' αὐτοῦ χρονίσαντος ἐν τῷ Γερμανικῷ πολέμῳ. In his *De propriis libris liber* (XIX,19), which Galen wrote on his own works, Marcus Aurelius accepted his clever excuse in the autumn of 169 (just before Marcus' *profectio*) that he could not take part in the war because the *princeps* ἤλπιζε γὰρ ἐν τάχει κατορθώσειν τὸν πόλεμον. After the catastrophe at Aquileia the emperor could not hope to finish the war quickly. This can only mean that the great defeat had to have happened after this date...

[51] FPA 1, 295–297.
[52] Degrassi 1954, 123.
[53] V. Nutton, Galen on prognosis. Edition, translation and commentary. Corpus Medicorum Graecorum 5.8.1. Berlin 1979, 210–213, Birley 1987, 162.

CHAPTER TWELVE

PANNONIA AND THE MARCOMANNIC WARS

Many scholars have discussed the Danubian wars of Marcus Aurelius.[1] Their history has been examined comprehensively from the archaeological (Böhme), numismatic (Szaivert, Schindler-Horstkotte, Scheidel), and epigraphic points of view (e.g., Domaszewski, Stehlik, Rosen). In addition, the ancient sources have also been the focus of fierce debates. Here I attempt to reconstruct the history of the wars based on the ancient sources, with special emphasis on Pannonia. I shall apply the results of earlier chapters, where I dealt with the history of the lightning and rain miracles, and the history of the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*.

The names of the 'Marcomannic' wars

Even in antiquity uncertainty existed over what exactly to call Marcus Aurelius' wars in the Danubian region. Modern scholarly literature has the same problem; usually they are called the Marcomannic wars, but they have also been referred to as the German, Northern or Danubian wars.[2] Here I shall discuss the ancient names of the wars.

The vagueness in the ancient authors is best displayed in a section of *vita Marci* (22.7): *bello Germanico sive Marcomannico immo plurimarum gentium.* The author-compiler of the vita was well aware of the problems of naming the wars; he included all the participants of the coalition against Rome in one list (22.1):

> *gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri et Quadi, Suevi, Sarmat<a>e, Lacringes et Burei hi aliique cum Victualis, Sosibes, Sicobotes, Roxolani, Basternae, Halani, Peu<c>ini, Costoboci.*

[1] The most important works: Conrad 1889, Domaszewski 1895, Domaszewski 1896, Marcus-Säule, Schwendemann 1923, Zwikker 1941, Nagy 1962, 42–47, Mócsy 1962, 555–562, Kerler 1970, 56–81, Mócsy 1974, 183–195, Alföldy 1974a, 152–158, Böhme 1975, Klein 1979, Langmann 1981, Schindler-Horstkotte 1985, Birley 1987, 159–210, Régészeti kézikönyv, 37–41, Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, Kerr 1995.

[2] Conrad 1889, 9–10, L. Schmidt, Die Westgermanen I. München 1938[2], 162–163, Rosenberger 1992, 104–109.

The Marcomanni were the most important next to the Quadi and Sarmatians; however, many other German tribes also participated in the war, which is where the names of the German or Marcomannic wars come from, even though the author of the *vita* was also clear about the fact that many non-German people had also participated in the war. In written sources, therefore, just as in the *vita Marci*, various names were given to the war:

1st war (167–175): *bellum Germanicum*: vita Marci 12.14, 20.6, Vita Veri 9.7, Vita Commodi 2.5 = Cassius Dio LXXI.5.1. πολέμος τοῦ Μάρκου πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανούς.
Bellum Marcomannicum: vita Marci 12.13, 13.1, 17.2, 17.5, Vita Avidii Cassii 3.6, Orosius 7.15.6, Eutrop. VIII.12–13.
2nd war (178–180): Vita Marci 27.9–10. *triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis, Herm<u>nduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit…*

The situation is the same, moreover even more difficult and varied, if one also examines the pertinent inscriptions:

1st war (167–175): *bellum Germanicum*: CIL VI 1449+p. 4700 = ILS 1107, 1549 = ILS 1100, 31856 = 41271 = ILS 1327, VIII 9372, IX 2849, XI 6055 = ILS 2743, XI 7264 = ILS 9194.
bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum: CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327.
expeditio Germanica: CIL III 7505 = ILS 2311, VI 8635 = ILS 1681, AÉp 1893, 88 = ILS 8977, CIL VI 41119, AÉp 1934, 155, 1956, 124, 1957, 121.
expeditio prima Germanica: CIL VI 1540 = 41145 = ILS 1112, AÉp 1998, 1087.
prima expeditio Germanica felicissima: CIL VI 8541 = ILS 1573.
expeditio Germanica et Sarmatica: AÉp 1920, 45.
expeditio Naris(tica): CIL III 4310 = 10969 = AÉp 1962, 221 = RIU 509.
proelia adversum Germanos et Iazyges: CIL VI 1377 = 41142 = ILS 1098.
2nd war (178–180): *expeditio secunda Germanica*: AÉp 1956, 124.
expeditio Germanica secunda: RIT 130 = CIL II 4114 = ILS 1140.
expeditio II felicissima Germanica: CIL V 2155 = ILS 1574.
secunda expeditio Germanica felicissima: CIL VI 8541 = ILS 1573.
expeditio Germanica Sarmatica: CIL VI 1540 = 41145 = ILS 1112.
expeditio Sarmatica: CIL X 408 = ILS 1117.
victoria Germanica et Sarmatic(a): CIL VI 1599 = 31828 = 41141 = ILS 1326.

triumphus felicissimus Germanicus secundus: CIL XIV 2922 = ILS 1420.
expeditio Burica: CIL III 5937.
3rd war(?): *expeditio felicissima III Germanica*: CIL V 2155 = ILS 1574.

The venue and date of the third war is debated up to today. What is certain is that it took place during the sole emperorship of Commodus. It could have been more unrest following the Marcomannic wars, not necessarily taking place in Pannonia but maybe in Germania, although the phrase had already been used for the *bellum desertorum*[3] and the *expeditio Burica* alike.[4] The latter campaign, due to the term *expeditio*, however, which suggests the personal presence of the emperor, is less likely.[5]

One of the most important lessons about the names of the war is that the names found on inscriptions do not always reflect the official point of view; moreover, fighting taking place in particular areas could be called by separate names, such as *expeditio Naristica* or *Burica*. If the decorated person only took part in one phase of the campaign, only against the Marcomanni, for instance, then the *bellum Marcomannicum* title is justified.[6] Yet another issue stems from this fact. The idea that the first war had two phases, the *bellum Marcomannicum* and *Sarmaticum*, has now become untenable;[7] therefore this view applied to the division of the scenes on Marcus' Column (scenes I–LV: A.D. 171–172, scenes LVI–CXVI: A.D. 173–175) also needs re-evaluation.[8] In spite of the various names, based on the data of the HA (*bello... immo plurimarum gentium*) it is more precise to speak of the Northern wars of Marcus Aurelius rather than the Marcomannic wars; however, due to tradition and for the sake of clarity I shall use the latter term.

The history of the first Marcomannic war (A.D. 166–167/175)

Whatever the underlying motive behind the Marcomannic war was, the preceding events are much debated.[9] The sources agree in reporting that

3 E.g. Fitz 1959, 87–89, Alföldy 1971, 372, Rosenberger 1992, 109–110, Dietz 1993, Grosso 1964, 490–492.
4 Dietz 1994.
5 Rosenberger 1992, 133–140.
6 Cf. FPA 2, 171–172.
7 Domaszewski 1895, 119–120, Marcus-Säule, 106.
8 Marcus-Säule, 105–125.
9 Noll 1954, E. Swoboda, Rex Quadis datus. Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1956, 5–12, Mócsy 1962, 555, Dobesch 1994, Strobel 2001.

the vassalage system, standing firmly since the reign of Trajan-Hadrian, had collapsed all of a sudden and the peoples neighbouring the empire demanded reception and acceptance into the empire, together and at the same time. It is certain that the envoys of the people appearing in the foreword of Appian's historic work (Praef. 7) demanding that Antoninus Pius resettle them in the empire were the same people who visited Marcus Aurelius at the beginning of the Marcomannic wars.[10] From Appian's statement one can only conclude that the system of *clientela* was still operational under Antoninus Pius.[11] The Pannonian coin hoards from the time of Antoninus Pius that Noll counted do not suggest some kind of pre-war situation,[12] in fact it is certain that the military order in Pannonia and the neighbouring provinces had weakened significantly at the beginning of Marcus' reign due to the absence of the *legio II adiutrix* (and auxiliary troops?) detached to participate in the Parthian campaign (162–166) (out of the 13 legions of the Danubian provinces, three participated in the war in the East[13]).[14] This is indicated by the fact that around 162–163 the Chatti caused problems along the Upper German-Raetian *limes* (*vita Marci* 8.7–9).[15] These data, however, probably do not refer to any kind of Pannonian emergency in the first half of the war. Nevertheless, the situation had changed by around A.D. 165.

It has caused great interest among historians that Marcus Aurelius organized two new legions in 165–166, the *legio II* and *III Italica* (cf. Dio LV 24.4, Oros. 7.15.6), uncommonly recruited in Italy.[16] Based on the epigraphic data it is known that Marcus ordered one of his generals back in the midst of the still-ongoing Parthian war. This was none other than M. Claudius Fronto, the famous *legatus* of Moesia Superior and the three Daciae, who, according to the inscription (CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142+pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098) *missus ad iuventútem per Ítaliam legendam*.[17] He took part in the triumph of 166 as a consul, therefore his mission and the organization of the legions

[10] Dobesch 1994, 75–80.
[11] FPA 2, 192–193.
[12] Mócsy 1962, 555, Régészeti kézikönyv, 213, Farkas 2000, 136.
[13] Birley 1987, 123.
[14] Régészeti kézikönyv, 72, Lőrincz 2001, 85, 89.
[15] Birley 1987, 122, 249.
[16] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1300–1301, 1468, 1532–1533, Lőrincz 2000, Dietz 2000.
[17] Cf. Alföldy 1977, 179, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 4952.

must also have taken place before the Parthian war.[18] The equestrian Ti. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus participated as an assistant to Cn. Iulius Verus consularis (AÉp 1956, 123) as *procurator ad dilectum cum Iulio Vero per Italiam tironum II leg(ionis) Italicae*.[19] Therefore, the time when the legions were established and the participants[20] are more or less known; the motive, however, has raised fierce debate. According to some (the most probable) views the emperor set up the new legion for the replacement of two legions destroyed earlier, *IX Hispana* and *XXII Deiotariana* (destroyed at Elegeia in the early phase of the Parthian war!).[21] Perhaps, he intended to substitute the new legion for the ones ordered away due to the Parthian war, or they might already have been part of Marcus' defensive preparations against the Germans.[22] According to others, the two legions were intended for the garrisons of the procuratorial provinces Noricum and Raetia, which had no legions yet.[23] This can certainly be excluded from the possibilities, as in case of Raetia and Noricum equestrian procurators are known from later times (168: AÉp 1977, 605, RMD 68).[24] Still others suppose they were tools of the deliberate annexation-centred policy of the emperor and plans would already have existed for the establishment of Marcomannia and Sarmatia provinces that would only have been delayed because of the attack of the Marcomanni.[25] Concerning the latter view it is a real difficulty that most of the ancient sources date these plans either to the end of the first war (*vita Marci* 24.5. *Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam Sarmatiam facere, et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in oriente*), or to the end of Marcus' reign (HA *vita Marci* 27, 10, Cassius

[18] Birley 1968, 216, n. 7.

[19] Y. Le Bohec, Ti. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus, procurateur de la région de Theveste. ZPE 93, 1992, 107–116.

[20] Dietz 2000, 133.

[21] Alföldy 1971, 96–97.

[22] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1300, 1468–1469, 1532–1533, Zwikker 1941, 55, Böhme 1975, 156, M. T. Schmitt, Die römischen Außenpolitik des 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Stuttgart 1997, 139–.

[23] A. Lippold, Regensburg 179 n. Chr.—Die Gründung des Lagers der Legio III Italica. in: Zwei Jahrtausende Regensburg. Regensburg 1979, 21–.

[24] Winkler 1969, 62–63, Fitz 1968, G. Alföldy, Die Inschriften des P. Cornelius Anullinus und seine Tätigkeit im römischen Deutschland. Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 12, 1987, 303–324, G. Alföldy, Nochmals P. Cornelius Anullinus. Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 14, 1989, 289–292, Dietz 1989.

[25] J. C. Mann, The raising of new legions during the principate. Hermes 91, 1963, 483–489, A. R. Birley, Roman frontier policy under Marcus Aurelius. in: Roman Frontier Studies 1967. Tel Aviv 1971, 10, Mócsy 1971, Fitz 1985, Šašel Kos 1986, 328–334, Birley 1987, 142, 249, Strobel 2001, 123–124.

Dio LXXI.33.4, Her. I.5.6, 6.6), but there is no mention of the fact that Marcus suspended these plans because of the war. Just because two new legions were established is no reason to project sources concerning later dates back to unreasonably earlier times.[26] I shall discuss this problem in detail when reviewing the history of the second war.

The fact that where the legions were stationed before 170 is unknown also causes great difficulties, forcing one to rely on further hypotheses. The notion that they only served as some kind of a "mobile reserve" and that they only left for the border provinces with the *profectio* of the two emperors in 168 was no coincidence.[27] Fitz has hypothesized that the garrison of the *legio II Italica* was in Lower Pannonia, thus the new *legatus*, Claudius Pompeianus, would have administered a consular province with two legions.[28] According to Fitz the arguments for this are: 1. the stamped tiles of *legio II Italica* found in Pannonia[29] and a grave inscription in Matrica that seems to mention a soldier of the *legio II Italica* (RIU 1438). 2. Pompeianus appears as consul on a diploma (AÉp 1975, 758 = 1978, 713 = RMD 67). The situation is not so clear, however. The brick stamps match the stamps of the late 2nd century,[30] while the section of the grave inscription in question is broken, its possible reading is as follows: *mil(es) l[eg(ionis) II] It(alicae), mil(es) f[ec]it, mil(es) l[eg(ionis) I] It(alicae)*.[31] 3. According to Fitz's painstaking and precise demonstration, a second consulate could only have been obtained by persons outside the emperor's family after a 10-year interval.[32] Pompeianus became consul for the second time in 173; however, in the meantime he had become Marcus' son-in-law, therefore he counted as a member of the imperial family, therefore this cannot really be a decisive argument! 4. Similarly uncertain is the identity of the person appearing on the, unfortunately heavily fragmented, diploma; the name of the second consul according to the—*-eiano cos* interpretation could be Pompeianus, but other *cognomina* with -eianus endings should

[26] Cf. Mócsy 1971, 65.
[27] Dietz 2000, 133.
[28] Fitz 1985, J. Fitz, Neue Ergebnisse in der Limesforschung des Donaugebiets. in: Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Exeter 1991, 220–221, Fitz 1993, 529–532, Nr. 316. Cf. Alföldy 1977, 184–185, 251, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 pp. 4936–4937.
[29] J. Szilágyi, Inscriptiones tegularum pannonicarum. DissPann II.1. Budapest 1933, 37, Nr. 2a–d.
[30] Lőrincz 2000, 146.
[31] G. Alföldy, Epigraphica Pannonica II. Inschriften aus der niederpannonischen Limeszone zwischen Matrica und Intercisa. Specimina Nova 16, 2000, 63–64.
[32] Fitz 1966, 348–351.

also be taken into consideration—there are at least 17 others.[33] Among these we must examine the role of Q. Caecilius Rufinus Crepereianus, who was the Lower Pannonian *legatus* prior to Pompeianus.[34] Another possibility one cannot exclude is that Pompeianus had become *consul suffectus* in his absence, during his governorship.[35] Due to his previous title, his earlier assignment should have been interrupted, or could he have continued administering a praetorian province as a *consularis*?[36] Recently, Lőrincz has observed the same in relation to the governorship of Pontius Laelianus.[37] Laelianus also remained in office following his consulship (July–August 144: CIL VI 24162).[38] If one presumes the same for Crepereianus, then this can be supported by evidence from inscriptions as well, as an altar, CIL III 10145, was erected by the governor as cos. and leg. Augg. pr. pr. 5. Nor is this assumption confirmed by the fragmentary *elogium* of Claudius Pompeianus from Rome (CIL VI 41120).[39] 6. Apart from these, no other data refer to the administrative reorganisation of Pannonia Inferior; therefore, in the absence of any solid proof, the possible stationing of the legions in Pannonia cannot be confirmed (although neither can this be rejected).[40]

Besides the establishment of the new legions, another piece of information could refer to some kind of a modification: the *legio V Macedonica*, returning from the Parthian campaign, was relocated from its earlier station in Moesia Inferior (Troesmis) to Potaissa of Dacia.[41] It is also interesting to observe that only tried men, experienced in military matters, were assigned to the leading posts of the Danubian provinces even before 167. The new *legatus* of the two Pannoniae was one such

[33] A. Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso. DissPann III/1. Budapest 1983, 378–379.

[34] Fitz 1993, 528–529, Nr. 315.

[35] This possibility was raised by Fitz as well: Fitz 1985, 124. In the latter case, of course, it would be hard to understand how Pompeianus, who was only a praetor at the time, had become the governor of a province with two legions.

[36] R. Syme, Consulates in absence. JRS 48, 1958, 1–9.

[37] Lőrincz B., Zur Statthalterliste der römischen Provinz Pannonia Inferior. in: Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis. Cluj-Napoca 2004, 36–37, Nr. 5.

[38] CIL VI 1497+1549 = 41146 = ILS 1094+1100.

[39] Alföldy 2001a, 28–29.

[40] This would raise new problems, beginning with the questionable state of the actual station of the *legio*. Matrica surely did not enter into consideration.

[41] Erdély története I. Budapest 1986, 67–68, Piso 1993, 82–89, M. Bărbulescu, Potaissa. Studiu monografic. Turda 1994, 191, M. Bărbulescu, Das Legionslager von Potaissa. (Turda). Zalău 1997, 7–8.

man: Claudius Pompeianus was *legatus* of Pannonia Inferior[42] and M. Iallius Bassus was *legatus* of Pannonia Superior.[43] M. Iallius Bassus' career is probably the most important; Claudius Pompeianus was leg. II ad. comes Augg. during the time of the *expeditio Parthica*, after which he was immediately assigned to Upper Pannonia, maybe as early as at the end of 166. As a result of all this one can conclude with certainty that even before the end of the Parthian war Marcus felt that a new German war was being mounted; the reason (if there was one apart from defence) from the Roman point of view is still not precisely clear. The initiative, however, belonged to the enemy.

Many scholars have attempted to solve the motive behind the outbreak of the Marcomannic wars.[44] Especially based on *vita Marci* 14.2, this reception is attested by written sources: cf. the *vita Marci* 22.2, 24.3, Dio LXXI.11.3–5).[45] The quoted section of the *vita Marci* (however one tries to put it) confirms Appian's passage: (Praef. 7): 14.2. *Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus*. Namely, the Marcomanni and Victuali and all the other peoples playing a major part in the outbreak of the war were driven to the borders of the empire by attempting to escape from the *superiores barbari* (more northern barbarian peoples), and they demanded reception for this reason. The previous text was most recently examined by Dobesch and he correctly drew attention to the fact that this was an especially good reason for the *aliae gentes*, while looting could have played a role for the Marcomanni and the Victuali: *Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus*.[46] It is not accidental that the migration of the Marcomanni and the Victuali has long been connected with the migration of the Gothic tribes,[47] which resulted in the settlement of new peoples in the northeastern Carpathian basin (primarily the settlement of the Alani, the Vandals and related tribes in

[42] Fitz 1993, 529–532, Nr. 316.

[43] Alföldy 1977, 232, Fitz 1993, 489–493, Nr. 290.

[44] Zwikker 1941, 35–40, Alföldi 1942, 191–192, Mócsy 1962, 555, Mócsy 1974, 183–186, Böhme 1975, 211–217, Birley 1987, 148–149, 249, Régészeti kézikönyv, 37, Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, passim, Dobesch 1994, Strobel 2001.

[45] Mócsy 1963, Mócsy 1971, Mócsy 1974, 183–186.

[46] Dobesch 1994, 97–105.

[47] H. Wolfram, Geschichte der Goten von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie. München 1990², 40–41.

the Upper Tisza region, in the area of present-day eastern Slovakia).[48] The latter migration, in archaeological terms, caused the appearance of the B2–C1 temporary phase of the Przeworsk culture, which can be connected with the Vandals in the Carpathian basin.[49] The exact reasons for the migration are not known; overpopulation, climate change, famine caused by poor crops, and internal social movements have all been offered as explanations.[50] This is only significant here because new peoples had arrived at the borders of the empire, driven partly by a desire for admittance or by a craving for spoils.

With the return of *legio II adiutrix* the earlier state was restored and the two provinces were defended by four legions, 12 alae, 17 *cohortes* (plus five unknown auxiliary units), and the *classis Flavia Pannonica*, altogether about 45 thousand men.[51] The work of Cassius Dio (LXXI.3.1[a] = Petr. Patr. Exc. de leg. 6) preserves a report by Petrus Patricius, unfortunately undated, concerning an event that was probably the first incident of the war, during which a six-thousand-strong Langobard-Obian troop broke through the Upper Pannonian *limes*.[52] They were, however, destroyed by an *ala* and a *cohort*. Fortunately, Petrus Patricius provided the names of the governor, Bassus, and the commander of the *ala*, M. Macrinius Avitus Vindex (identified by Conrad in 1889), who was the *praefectus* of two Pannonian *alae* during his *militia tertia* and *quarta* (CIL VI 1449 = ILS 1107): praef. alae III Thrac.: Odiavum: 165–166,

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[48] Bóna 1986, 61–66, Jazigok, roxolánok, alánok. Szarmaták az Alföldön. Gyula 1998, 40–42, Die Wandalen. Die Könige—die Eliten—die Krieger—die Handwerker. Nordstemmen 2003, 203–245, Prohászka P., Az osztrópatakai vandál királysír. Esztergom 2004, 101–107.

[49] K. Godlowski, Superiores Barbari und die Markomannenkriege im Lichte archäologischer Quelle. Slovenská Archeológia 32, 1984, 327–, id., Die Synchronisierung der Chronologie des germanischen Fundstoffes zur Zeit der Markomannenkriege. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 115–128, id., Die Barbaren nördlich der Westkarpaten und das Karpatenbecken—Einwanderungen, politische und militärische Kontakte. Specimina Nova 9, 1993, 65–89, K. Pieta, Mittel- und Nordslowakei zur Zeit der Markomannenkriege. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 253–262, Römer und Barbaren an den Grenzen des römischen Dakien. Acta Musei Porolissensis 21, 1997, passim.

[50] Zwikker 1941, 35–40, Böhme 1975, 211–217, Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 109–113, 457–469.

[51] Lőrincz 1993, 51–53, Lőrincz 2001, 85, 89, 92–95.

[52] Domaszewski 1895, 124, Marcus-Säule, 114, PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1397, Zwikker 1941, 77–88, Alföldi 1942, 192, Fitz 1959, Fitz 1960, Nagy 1962, 42, Mócsy 1962, 555–556, Mócsy 1974, 186, Böhme 1975, 158–159, Birley 1987, 149, Régészeti kézikönyv, 37–38, Dobesch 1994, 91–93, Strobel 2001, 109.

praef. alae contar.: Arrabona: 167.[53] Because the *ala* of Arrabona participated in the Parthian war,[54] Avitus became the leader following this war, therefore the invasion can also be dated to after their return. It is not known which *ala* took part in the suppression of the invasion. Based on the station of the two *alae*, the incidents must have taken place somewhere around Brigetio along the Odiavum-Arrabona section of the *limes*. Attempts to identify the specifics have not been successful to date; the incident definitely cannot be related to the Káloz double grave, with which it was incorrectly associated, as during the revision of the finds and the find-spots it became clear that the finds were part of the grave goods of a coach grave.[55] Unfortunately, the *ala* and its commander, Candidus, cannot be identified further. According to some improbable theories, Candidus was the *legatus* of the *legio I adiutrix* or the *tribunus laticlavius* or *primipilus* of the *legio IIII Flavia*; therefore the event could be dated to 166, before the return of the *legio II adiutrix*.[56] No data are available about the engagement of Lower Pannonian troops, especially not for the participation of a legion. Candidus could simply have been the commander of an *ala*. If he had been a l*egatus legionis*, Dio would presumably have mentioned him with a similar Greek term. According to some earlier views, often repeated even up to the present, the invasion took place in 165;[57] most historians believe it occurred around 166–167, at the beginning of the war. This has been confirmed by one reference in Cassius Dio, who says that the event was the first attempt of the barbarians (πρώτη ἐπιχείρησις). Dating the invasion to 165 can be excluded, as this would be impossible considering the both dates of the governorship of Iallius Bassus and the participation of the *ala contariorum* in the Parthian war (if Vindex acted as a commander of this unit). Similarly, there is no reason to accept the later dating to 170–171, proposed mainly by Domaszewski.[58] The negotiations led by Bassus by no means suggest the presence of the emperor at the frontier.

[53] Devijver 1976, 550–551, Nr. M 4, Alföldy 1977, 371–374, Fitz 1993, 834–836, Nr. 504, Lőrincz 2001, 19, 26, 188, Nr. 100.

[54] Lőrincz 2001, 18–19, 150, FPA 2, 193.

[55] Its literature is plentiful: Bóna 1956, Fitz 1959, Fitz 1960, Bóna 1963, 248–, Böhme 1975, 179–182, Bóna 1978. About the coach grave: K. Palágyi S. – Nagy L., Római kori halomsírok a Dunántúlon. Veszprém 2000, 16–17.

[56] Domaszewski 1895, 124, Marcus-Säule, 114, PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1397, Alföldi 1942, 192, Régészeti kézikönyv, 37, Fitz 1993, 833–834, Nr. 503.

[57] Cf. Mócsy 1962, 556, Dobesch 1994, 92, Anm. 75, Strobel 2001, 109.

[58] Domaszewski 1895, 124, Marcus-Säule, 114.

The Lower Pannonian data concerning A.D. 167 do not support the opinion that Lower Pannonian troops took part in the suppression of the invasion—the data do not even refer to any unrest. From this year there is data concerning road building on the Aquincum-Sirmium route (CIL III 10615, 10632, 10638) and soldiers were discharged from as many as 10 units at the beginning of May (CIL XVI 123), which would hardly have happened in extreme circumstances.[59] According to Fitz's earlier theory, due to the fact that discharges only took place in 10 units, leaving 5 units missing, these five would have participated in the suppression of the invasion.[60] It has become clear by now, however, that there is no relationship between these discharges and the campaigns, i.e., it was coincidental that discharges only took place for those troops in that year.[61]

Bassus, the Upper Pannonian *legatus*, led the peace negotiations following the invasion; nothing suggests the presence of the emperor(s). It is interesting to see that even at that time the Romans were facing an organised alliance of 11 neighbouring peoples led by the Marcomanni, who, with the leadership of Ballomarius, the Marcomann king, made peace and then returned home. The often-quoted sentence of the *vita Marci* is related to the latter event: 12.13. *Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Marcomannicum, quod diu eorum, qui aderant, arte suspensum est, ut finito iam orientali bello Marcomannicum agi posset*, where the expression *eorum, qui aderant* most certainly refers to the governors of the Danubian provinces.[62] From this, however, it is clearly perceivable that the actual outbreak of the war was shifted after the Parthian war (cf. Oros. 7.15.4. *continuo exortum est*). Why the neighbouring peoples would have had to request peace has been much debated. According to many, the reason for this is that the fragment omits information that others had also

[59] The Vth imperial acclamation mentioned on the diploma is without doubt false as Th. Mommsen already pointed out from 168): Marcus-Säule, 25, Anm. 1, Alföldi 1942, 223, j. 227. It is also not certain that he would have started using it because of an Upper Pannonian, essentially insignificant, event: Mócsy 1962, 556, Birley 1987, 149.

[60] Fitz 1959, 63–67.

[61] Zs. Visy, Die Entlassung der Auxiliarsoldaten aufgrund der Militärdiplome. Acta ArchHung 36, 1984, 223–, 238, 236, Lőrincz 2001, 166, Nr. 33.

[62] Schwendemann 1923, 165–167, Zwikker 1941, 88, Alföldi 1942, 191, Mócsy 1962, 556, Birley 1987, 249.

participated in the venture besides the Langobardi and the Obii.[63] Because of the lack of data the answer can only be negative again. Maybe the opinion that the Romans considered the earlier agreements void because they had let the invading troops pass has some grounds.[64]

Apart from fear of the outbreak of the Marcomannic war, another thing frightened the people of Rome, Italy, and even the provinces: troops returning from the East were carrying an infectious, deadly disease. It might have been bubonic plague, but it has also been suggested that the epidemic was smallpox or typhus, as the expressions used by the ancient sources cannot be translated precisely: e.g., *pestilentia, lues*, λοιμός.[65] The epidemic, which undoubtedly arrived from the East (HA v. Veri 8.1–4, Amm. Marc. 31.6.24), first caused immense havoc in and around Rome in 167 (*vita Marci* 13.3–6), then it raged around Aquileia during the 168 campaign and Furius Victorinus and a good portion of the Roman army fell victim to it (*vita Marci* 14.5).[66] That is why the emperors fled back to Rome at the beginning of 169 (Lucius Verus died on the way back) (Gal. XIV.649–650, XIX. p. 18, 8–15). Following this, the epidemic reached the provinces as well, as far out as Gallia (Eutr. VIII.12, Chron. 205f, 206h Helm, Oros. 7.15.5–6, Amm. Marc. 31.6.24).[67] It is not accidental that the *vita Marci* alone mentions it four times (13.3–6, 17.2, 21.6–7, 28.4),[68] and Marcus even mentions it in his *Meditationes* (IX.2). There were no effective remedies against the epidemic, which is why the famous doctor, Galen, left Rome so hastily

[63] Alföldi 1942, 192, Bóna 1955, 70, Fitz 1959, 62, Nagy 1962, 42, j, 118–120, Böhme 1975, 158–159.

[64] Zwikker 1941, 87, Dobesch 1994, 93–94, Strobel 2001, 109.

[65] Schwendemann 1923, 54–62, Zwikker 1941, 63–65, Gilliam 1961, R.J. Littman – M. L. Littman, Galen and the Antonine plague. American Journal of Philology 94, 1973, 243–255, Birley 1987, 149–151, 249, R. Duncan-Jones, The impact of the Antonine plague. AJA 9, 1996, 108–136, M. Buora, La peste Antonina a Aquileia e nel teritorio circostante. in: Roma sul Danubio. Da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra. Ed. M. Buora – W. Jobst. Roma 2002, 93–97.

[66] Cf. CIL VI 1937* = 39440A = 41143 = II 396* = V 648* = XIV 440* = ILS 9002.

[67] Many Greek grave inscriptions found in the Eastern provinces can be related to the epidemic: Gilliam 1961, 148–149. According to a grave inscription in Noricum from A.D. 182, four members of a family *per luem vita functi sunt* (CIL III 5567). The list of Mithras worshippers inVirunum also suggests further devastation caused by the epidemic (AÉp 1994, 1334 = 1996, 1189 = 1998, 1016). According to this, in the first half of 184 5 *socii* died out of 35: G. Picottini, Mithrastempel in Virunum. Klagenfurt 1994, 23–24.

[68] Schwendemann 1923, 54–62.

and returned to his hometown of Pergamum (XIX.15), and that is why so many wonderworkers managed to play an important role (Luc. Alex. 36, vita Marci 13.6). The epidemic not only broke out among the cattle, but caused immense loss of human life (Eutr. VIII.12, Chron. 205f, 206h Helm, Oros. 7.15.5–6);[69] it even broke out again later, during the reign of Commodus (Her. I.12.1–2, Dio LXXII.14.3–4). Even though one cannot estimate the damage exactly—the ancient sources exaggerated—the epidemic still influenced the course of the war negatively, as the plague did not spare the soldiers. In the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, according to Jerome's translation (206h Helm), in the year 172 *tanta per totum orbem pestilentia fuit, ut paene usque ad internecionem Romanus exercitus deletus sit* (cf. *vita Marci* 14.5).[70]

It is interesting that Marcus, directly after the return of Lucius Verus and despite his reluctance,[71] felt that it was necessary for both emperors to participate in the war against the Germans (*vita Marci* 13.1. *et cum famis tempore populo insinuasset de bello, fratre post quinquennium reverso in senatu egit, ambos necessarios dicens bello Germanico imperatores*. Cf. vita Veri 9.8. *Ad bellum Germanicum, Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se vel ad bellum mittere vel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt*...), still, the war could only have started at the beginning of 168. Apart from all the reasons mentioned previously, Marcus was also motivated by personal reasons; according to the *vita Marci* 12.10. *post mortem Luci<i>[m] tantum Germanicum se vocaret, quod sibi bello prop<r>io pepererat.* Although during the Parthian war Lucius Verus did not attach any new provinces to the empire, due to the extension of the borders of Syria (at Dura Europos) he could still consider himself a *propagator imperii* (cf. CIL XIV 106).[72] Maybe in the beginning Marcus also felt it necessary to lead a successful campaign himself. His opinion must have certainly have changed by 167, but by then the war had become a necessity. According to *vita Marci* 13.1–3. *tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici fuit, ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit; retardatusque bellica profectione sic celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies. tanta autem pestilentia fuit, ut vehiculis cadavera sint exportata serracisque.* Therefore, the departure for the war had to be postponed. A great fear arose because of the outbreak of the war, therefore, *lectisternium,*

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[69] Cf. Gilliam 1961, Millar 1964, 13, n. 4, Birley 1987, 150.
[70] Gilliam 1961, 149–151.
[71] G. Barta, Lucius Verus and the Marcomannic wars. ACD 7, 1971, 67–71.
[72] Birley 1987, 145, Strobel 2001, 115.

lustration and the *peregrini ritus* had to be performed.[73] The author is very clear at this point; these rituals could hardly have been connected only to the epidemics in the usual way.[74] The conjunction *autem*, however, despite Rosen's opinion, does not divide but rather connects the two events. If one translates the conjunction in its usual meaning "but," "however," "nevertheless," then the author of the vita is referring to the lack of success as far as the *peregrini ritus* is concerned. If, however, the meaning is simply "moreover" or "and" then there is no relation between the two sentences (and events). The latter view is confirmed by one passage of the *vita Heliogabali* (HA v. Hel. 9–1–2), according to which the latter emperor *cum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quod Antoninus pulcherrime proflig<a>rat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chald<a>eos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni p. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factu<m> carminibus et consecratione[m]. cum quaereret, quae illa esset vel ubi 9.2 esset, suppressum est. constabat enim illum o<b> hoc consecrationem quaerere, ut eam dissiparet spe belli concitandi, et idcirco maxime quod audierat responsum fuisse ab Antonino bellum Marcomannicum finiendum, cum hic Varius et Heliogabalus et ludibrium publicum diceretur, nomen autem Antonini pollueret, in quod invaserat.*[75]

Is it necessary to exclude the epidemic from the possible reasons for these measures? Is it possible that the author of the vita was mistaken? All kinds of charlatans and sorcerers who had arrived in Rome to try their fortunes attempted to stop the epidemic from spreading (cf. *vita Marci* 13.6). One of the most interesting stories appears in the collection of questions and answers related to the Anastasius Sinaita (Quaest. et resp. PG 89.281a–b): the outbreak of the epidemic during the reign of the "Domitianus" was stopped by Julian the famous Chaldean magician while competing against his rivals, Apuleius and Apollonius of Tyana.[76]

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[73] Rosen 1994, 92–93, Motschmann 2002, 104–115.

[74] Schwendemann 1923, 59–60, Zwikker 1941, 63–64, Angyal 1971.

[75] Kovács 2007, 47–48.

[76] PG 89.281a–b. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Πολέιος οἱ μάγοι ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως φαντασίας εἰργάσαντο, ὧν μία ἐργασία τοιαύτη φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἀνδρῶν διηγήμεσιν. Λοιμικῆς ποτε νόσου καταλαβούσης τὴν Ρώμην, καὶ πάντων σποράδην ἀπολλυμένων, προὐτρέποντο οἱ μάγοι οὗτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μεγιστάμενων αὐτοῦ βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει ἀπολλυμενῇ...Ἀποκριθεὶς καὶ ὁ ἀκροθήνιος παρ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ πλεῖον ἐγγίων τῷ διαβολῷ διὰ τῆς ματαιότητος, Ἰουλιανὸς, ἔφη, Ἐντὸς ιε´ ἡμερῶν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπωλλύται, μὴ περιμέᾳουσα τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν βοήθειαν. Ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τρίτον ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παυέσθω τῆς λοιμικῆς φθορᾶς. Καὶ δὴ ἐπαὐθη. Ως οὖν λοιπὸν παρακληθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, κατέπαυσε καὶ ἄλλων δύο μερῶν τὸ τάχος τῆς νόσου.

The epidemic threatening the entire city (and the mention of Apuleius) makes a plague epidemic under Marcus Aurelius a much more likely solution. Julian, who beat the others, first cleaned the disease out of a third of the city, then from the entire town.[77] In my opinion, the two magicians, Arnuphis (cf. AÉp 1934, 245 = Inscriptiones Aquileiae 234) and Julian Theurgistes, mentioned in connection with the rain miracle, got close to the court during the epidemic.

Many researchers hold the view, with reason, that the *timor* broke out due to the Marcomann-Quadian invasion.[78] In my opinion, as noted above, the invasion still cannot be dated to A.D. 167 according to the sources. What could the motive have been behind the *timor belli Marcomannici*? The explanation should be sought in the meaning of the word *timor*; fear of the Marcomannic war in itself would not mean that enemy troops were entering the land of Italia. It is hardly probable that a panic broke out in Rome because of an insignificant Langobard-Obian invasion. Maybe the peace talks that took place between Iallius Bassus and the 11 peoples (Dio LXXI.1.3a) should be dated to this time. The news of the peace talks would not be as insignificant as the news of a minor invasion. The collaboration of 11 peoples and the demands for reception, in my opinion, would have triggered a sense of fear in the population of Rome, as the popular view of the Germans formulated in the early Imperial period was such that[79] the news would probably have been frightening for the average person. The fact that the *lustratio exercitus* had to be performed before the start of the campaign also contributed to the delay. How long did this delay last? Naturally, no one wishes to suggest that Marcus delayed departure for over a year only for this reason (calculating the time elapsed from Verus' return in 166 until their departure at the beginning of 168), and it is also not a logical conclusion that when the enemy was looting the towns of Italy the emperor would refrain from war for the sake of some religious rites and fear. This would not have been characteristic of Marcus as a dutiful emperor. In this case he would still have performed the prescribed religious rites, but afterwards he would have departed without delay.

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[77] Julian and Apuleius are mentioned together in another section in Psellos: Allatius, De templis Graecorum. p. 177, Script. Min. I. p. 446, 26.

[78] Rosen 1994.

[79] M. Radnóti-Alföldi, Die plebs urbana und die Germanen. Beispiele einiger eher unfreiwilliger Begegnungen. in: Germani in Italia. Roma 1994, 159–198, W. Pohl, Barbarenbild seit Tacitus. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 59–65.

Another piece of data suggests that barbarian troops were already on Roman soil at the beginning of 168: according to *vita Marci* 14.2. *nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum Aquileiam usque venissent. nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt*…, meaning the barbarians retreated when they received word of the approaching emperors. Apart from Pannonian sources, the wax tablets of Rosia Muntana (Verespatak) in Dacia attest the barbarian invasion of 167, because the latest document is dated to 29 May 167 (CIL III p. 949, Nr. XII).[80] This date, however, could only be the *terminus post quem* of the act of hiding the documents! Due to the fact that many other documents were also created in 167 (Nr. I: 9 February, Nr. XIII: 28 March), however, the assumption that they were hidden as early as 167 is justifiable.[81] According to the *Fragmentum Vaticanum 195* the two emperors were certainly still in Rome in January, 168.[82]

How dangerous an enemy the Romans had to face (that caused this great fear) is known exactly from the enumerations of the ancient authors.[83] One of the most famous of these is the (unfortunately incomplete) list of peoples in the *vita Marci* that recounts the peoples in a west to east direction, which the author provides in another passage of the biography:

> 22.1. *gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri et Quadi, Suevi, Sarmat<a>e, Lacringes et Burei † hi aliique cum Victualis, Sosibes, Sicobotes, Roxolani, Basternae, Halani, Peu<c>ini, Costoboci.*[84]

A similar list is provided by Eutropius: VIII.13. *Ingenti ergo labore et moderatione… bellum Marcomannicum confecit, quod cum his Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi atque omnis barbaria commoverat*, which was then adopted by the author of the *vita Marci* almost word for word: XVII.3. *Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis, V[u]andalis, simul etiam Quadis extinctis servitio liberavit.*[85] In Jerome's *Chronicon* translation the following was added exactly

[80] Zwikker 1941, 75, G. Barta, Bemerkungen zur Kriegsgeschichte Daziens im II. Jahrhundert (167–171). ACD 2, 1966, 81–87, Erdély története I. Budapest 1986, 67, Birley 1987, 151.

[81] Pólay E., A daciai viaszostáblák szerződései—Die Verträge der siebenbürgischen Wachstafeln. Budapest 1972, 13, 24, 28, 31–32.

[82] Zwikker 1941, 56–58, Birley 1987, 155.

[83] Domaszewski 1895, 121, Anm. 3, Schwendemann 1923, 81–92, Zwikker 1941, 14–34, Dobesch 1994, 103.

[84] Kerler 1970, 67–69, J. Burian, Die Darstellung der Markomannenkriege in den SHA (Vita Marci) und ihre Glaubwürdigkeit. Listy Filologické 110, 1987, 117.

[85] Schwendemann 1923, 201.

to year 168: 205g Helm. *Romani contra Germanos, Marcomannos, Quados, Sarmatas, Dacos dimicant*. Aurelius Victor provided another relatively exact description of the triumph of Marcus in 176: 16.13–14. *Triumphi acti ex nationibus, qui regi Marcomaro ab usque urbe Pannoniae, cui Carnuto nomen est, ad media Gallorum protendebatur*.[86] Orosius also wrote: Hist. 7.15.8. *nam insurrexissent gentes immanitate barbarae, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc est Marcomanni, Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suebi atque omnis paene Germania*. Apart from these sources the Langobardi and Obii also appear in the fragments of Cassius Dio (LXXI.3.1a) and so do the Asdingi and the Cotini (LXXI.12.1–2, and 3).

From the continuation of the *vita Marci* (14.2–8) the course of events of the remainder of year 168 can also be traced precisely:[87]

1. The retreat of the barbarians.
2. The murder of the barbarian leaders and sending peace envoys.[88]
3. The Quadi, in the spirit of the old *clientela*, elect their new leader with Roman approval.
4. Apologetic envoys visit the emperors.
5. Furius Victorinus and most of the Roman army are destroyed, probably due to the epidemic.
6. In spite of Lucius Verus' plans to return through the Alps, the emperors *composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant*.
7. They return to Rome at the beginning of 169; during the trip Verus dies.

The notion of the *munimen Italiae atque Illyrici* may also refer to the establishment of the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*, but this is not related to the Marcomann-Quadian invasion. The same order can be followed in chapters 9.7–11 of the *vita Veri*; the only difference is that Marcus dealt with everything, while Verus only concerned himself with feasts, hunting, and planning the return to Rome. Based on 9.10, the venue of the

[86] P. Kehne, Marcomar: Ein vernachlässigter König der Markomannenkriege. in: Gentes, reges und Rom. Auseinandersetzung, Anerkennung, Anpassung. Festschrift für Jaroslav Tejral zum 65. Geburtstag. Brno 2000, 248–250. The author considers the *regi Marcomaro* form present in the manuscript tradition correct, and, based on that, postulates a Marcomannicking called Marcomarus. I cannot, however, exclude text deterioration: *Marcoman(n)o*. Cf. GLQFM III, 651. Apart from the adjective Marcomannicus the Marcoman(n)us form is also known: Jord. Get. XVI.89, XXII.114. Thus, its meaning can be simply "Marcomannic king" without further ado.

[87] Schwendemann 1923, 170–177, Zwikker 1941, 56–61, 101–103, Böhme 1975, 159–161, Birley 1987, 155–158.

[88] Stahl 1989, 301–302.

events also becomes clear if there should be any doubt: it was Pannonia (*conposito autem bello in Pannonia*). L. Fulvius Rusticus Bruttius Praesens was the *comes* of the two emperors in the *expeditio Sarmatica* (CIL X 408 = ILS 1117), which means that at this point the main emphasis was still on the fight against the Sarmatians. Probably Marcus and Verus were saluted as *Imperatores* for the sixth time, which appears earliest on coins minted from March 168 (emission 16),[89] and this is when an Egyptian papyrus names the emperors Γερμανικοί.[90] The acclamation could hardly have had anything to do with the Parthian war any longer.[91] It is conspicuous, but a fact, that there is not one word whatsoever about the events of 168 or the death of Verus in Xiphilinus' epitome of Dio (cf. 259, 10–16). Unfortunately, when during the year the events occurred in Pannonia is not known, but due to the changed coin minting following the new imperial acclamation it must be inferred that the barbarians crossed the border into the province during the autumn or winter of the previous year and only pulled back when they received news of the approaching emperors. Moreover, the *conposito bello* ablative absolute also refers to clashes.[92] In this the two governors, Iallius Bassus and Claudius Pompeianus, certainly performed well, as the important assignment of the latter shows. The *elogium* of Pompeianus from Rome (maybe an equestrian statue) was presumably erected in connection with his marriage around A.D. 169. It might be a unique memorial for his military merits, but, unfortunately it is quite fragmentary, although it undoubtedly refers to his actions in Pannonia (CIL VI 41120).[93] The extent of the damage caused (we can only refer to the data of subsequent peace treaties) cannot be established exactly.

With Verus' death in early 169 Marcus became the sole ruler and, interrupting the unfinished war for the time being, he travelled back to Rome. If Marcus had felt that everything was taken care of he would probably not have planned to spend the winter in Aquileia. Apart from the burial, Marcus mainly dealt with the preparations for a new *expeditio*,[94] but the profection may not have been so urgent

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[89] Scheidel 1989, 5–6.

[90] B. P. Grenfell – A. S. Hunt, The Oxyrhyncus papyri II. London 1899, 92, Nr. LVII.

[91] Zwikker 1941, 73–75, de: Kienast 1996, 139, 144.

[92] Alföldi 1942, 193–194, Nagy 1962, 42–43, Mócsy 1962, 557, Swoboda 1964, 53, 250–251, Šašel Kos 1986, 242, Régészeti kézikönyv, 38.

[93] G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 pp. 4936–4937, Alföldy 2001a, 28–29.

[94] Schwendemann 1923, 67–74, 201–203, Zwikker 1941, 104–109, Birley 1987, 159–162.

in early 169, as he had only left in October following the *ludi Capitolini* (21.3–5).[95] His departure, however, must have been rather urgent by then as he only mourned the death of his son-in-law Verus for five days (*vita Marci* 21.4–5). At this time some of his private possessions were auctioned symbolically in Trajan's forum to support the war (*vita Marci* 21.9, 17.4 = Eutr. VIII.13, Epit. De Caes. 16.2, Zonaras XII.1, Excerpta Salmasiana 117),[96] new conscriptions were ordered, during which he organized auxiliary units consisting of freed slaves, gladiators, Dalmatian and Dardanian *latrones, diogmitae* (Asian police troops), and he even employed German troops (*vita Marci* 21.6–8) for military assistance. The war losses so far had been increased by the great number of victims of the epidemic. It cannot be an accident that, directly before these measures, still in the same sentence, the *vita Marci* reports (21.6) that *instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum diligentissime restituit*. Examining the subsequent discharge *laterculi* for each unit, even the praetorian guard (cf. CIL VI 2382), shows that the number of conscripts increased[97] and discharges did not occur, or if they did, on a much smaller scale than, for instance, in A.D. 170 (CIL VI p. 3330: 32521–32522).[98] The *laterculus* of 195 of the *legio VII Claudia*, during which the persons conscripted in 169 were discharged (CIL III 14507 = IMS II 53), is the best example from the provinces for the history of the conscriptions during 169.[99] The number of discharges was twice the number of an average conscription. It is also no coincidence that the issuing of military discharge documents was suspended between 167/168 and 177/178.[100]

When departing for the war, another important step for Marcus was to arrange the marriage of his daughter, Lucilla (Verus' widow), to Pompeianus (*vita Marci* 20.6). As already discussed, the circumstances of the marriage of the former Lower Pannonian and rather old *legatus*, who was of relatively lowly descent, have been debated. It is certain that Marcus' choice fell on Pompeianus for the virtues he showed in the first years of the war. According to some theories (especially that

[95] Schwendemann 1923, 178–180, Zwikker 1941, 108–109.

[96] Schwendemann 1923, 201–203, Zwikker 1941, 105, Birley 1987, 160.

[97] Schwendemann 1923, 67–74, Zwikker 1941, 105–106, 223–224, Gilliam 1961, 149–151.

[98] M. Durry, Les cohorts prétoriennes. Paris 1938, 84–85, Zwikker 1941, 179, 223, Gilliam 1961, 150.

[99] M. Mirković, The roster of the VII Claudia legion. ZPE 146, 2004, 211–220.

[100] W. Eck – D. MacDonald – A. Pangerl, Die Krise des römischen Reiches unter Marc Aurel und ein Militärdiplom aus dem Jahr 177(?). Chiron 33, 2003, 365–377.

of Fitz)[101] the reason for his selection was the Marcomani-Quadi invasion of Italy, although according to most theories the leadership of war matters only went to him in the emergency that took place following the invasion—and by this time he was the son-in-law of the emperor. A passage of the *vita Pertinacis* (2.4), used as evidence for this theory, however, cannot be decisive, as the *gener Marci* expression, Pompeianus' later title, could also have been used in this part of the *vita*.[102] The sequence (1. invasion, 2. assignment) found in the extract of Cassius Dio (LXXI.3.2) seems to support the earlier date. It is also a fact, however, that nothing is known of any large-scale Roman campaign to barbarian lands in 169 that could have suffered a loss of 20 000 men (Luc. Alex. 48). If there had been, Pompeianus would definitely have participated; furthermore, if this fiasco took place during the spring Marcus would not have chosen him, while later Pompeianus had to stay in Rome for matters connected to his marriage.

If it was not the news of the defeat that made him leave Rome, why was Marcus' departure so sudden? Limited information is available concerning the events of the years 168 to 169 in the Danubian provinces; many factors, however, indicate that the peace treaties concluded by the two emperors did not last and the war in 169 broke out on many fronts at the same time. Evidently Pannonia was also such an area and Pompeianus demonstrated his strategic talents as early as the beginning of 169. Actual data exists concerning the situation along the Lower Danube. Before his death in 170, M. Claudius Fronto had fought several successful battles against the Sarmatians and the Germans as the *legatus* of Moesia Superior and the three Dacias (CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142+pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098: *post aliquot(!) secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Íazyges*).[103] Fronto was first the joint *legatus* of Moesia Superior and Dacia Apulensis (during Verus' lifetime); then from 169 he became the joint *legatus* of Moes. Sup. and the Tres Daciae. His joint governorship took place because the earlier governor, Calpurnius Agricola,[104] died, probably in battle.

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[101] Fitz 1966.

[102] J. Fitz, Claudius Pompeianus, gener Marci. Alba Regia 19, 1981, 289.

[103] Stein 1940, 46–48, Zwikker 1941, 90–94, 157–159, Stein 1944, 38–40, Birley 1987, 161, 164, Piso 1993, 94–102, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 4952.

[104] Stein 1944, 41–43, Zwikker 1941, 93, Alföldy 1977, 172, 222–223, Birley 1987, 161.

Where Marcus spent the winter of 169–170 is not known; he would have timed his great *expeditio* for the spring of 170. The premise[105] that his winter quarters were set up in the town of Sirmium is not too likely, as he planned a campaign against the Marcomanni and the Quadi (cf. Luc. Alex. 48). The most likely is Carnutum, which is mentioned rather often in late ancient sources and became an imperial headquarters and departure base in the ensuing three years Dio LXXI.3.1: ὁρμητήριον) (Eutr. VIII.13, Aur. Vict. 16.13, Oros. Hist. 7.15.6, Hier. Chron. 207e (177 A.D.), Prosper Tiro Chron. 703 p. 431).

Due to the silence of the sources hardly anything is known of the Roman campaign that started during the spring of 170; one can only rely on the somewhat questionable account of Lucian (Alex. 48). Among others, only Ammianus and Marius Maximus could have reported the event in detail (Amm. 29.6.1), but these accounts have been lost. Lucian wrote about the story of Alexander, the pseudomantis, and the false prophecy in detail, then briefly provides the continuation of the events:

1. Offering a sacrifice, the barbarians, who do not know lions and think that they are some kind of dog, kill the animals immediately (unfortunately scene XIII of Marcus' Column does not show this: see above).
2. Immediately a catastrophic Roman defeat occurs claiming 20 000 dead.
3. The Marcomanni and the Quadi invade Italy, Opitergium is destroyed, Aquileia is besieged.

Breaking through the defence lines of the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* (cf. in Amm. 29.6. the *perruptis Alpibus Iuliis* abl. absolute mentioned already), probably set up as early as 168, did not prove to be very difficult—the Roman troops were unable to put up any significant resistance. The defeat, which might have taken place in the region of Pannonia, had catastrophic consequences for the province;[106] on the one hand, most of the lost troops would have been part of the Pannonian forces; on

[105] Birley 1987, 163.
[106] Alföldi 1942, 194–195, Nagy 1962, 43–44, Mócsy 1962, 557, Mócsy 1974, 187–188, Régészeti kézikönyv, 39.

the other hand, based on the special assignment of the *legatus of legio XIIII gemina*, C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes (*cum iurisdicatu Pannoniae Superioris*: AÉp 1920, 45 = ILAfr 281),[107] one can suspect with reason the death of the Upper Pannonian governor, probably C. Iul. Commodus Orfitianus.[108] This was not the only catastrophic Roman defeat in this year; the Roman defence system apparently broke down on many fronts. Claudius Fronto, the governor because of battles with favourable outcomes in 170, *post aliquot[!] secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Íazyges ad postremum pró r(e) p(ublica) fortiter pugnáns ceciderit,* then, similarly to other leading senators and knights (*praefectus praetorio*) (*vita Marci* 22.7, Dio LXXI.3.5, CIL VI 41140–41152), Marcus had a statue erected for him in Rome, on Trajan's forum (CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142+pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098).[109] The Costobocian-Sarmatian invasion of the Balkans that destroyed the Sanctuary in Eleusis, so infamous in Greek lands and among Greek authors, may have occurred in the same year (Paus. X.34.5, Ael. Ar. Or. XXII (Eleusinos), Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 19, 1895, 119, Nr. 2 = IG II^2 3411),[110] although it could also have occurred in 171, as Scheidel has pointed out recently.[111]

In this extraordinary situation Marcus had to apply extraordinary measures; one of these measures was to entrust Claudius Pompeianus with establishing the headquarters and ousting the barbarians;[112] he elected to employ Helvius Pertinax, who later became emperor (*vita Pertinacis* 2.4, Dio LXXI.3.2). Marcus himself had recently moved Pertinax, of low rank, previously Dacian procurator (cf. the famous inscription of Brühl: AÉp 1963, 52), as he had fallen under suspicion

[107] Zwikker 1941, 159, Fitz 1966, 361–364, Alföldy 1977, 190, 237, Fitz 1993, 496–499, Nr. 294.

[108] Alföldy 1977, 237, 241, Fitz 1993, 493–494, Nr. 291. Iallius Bassus may not have fallen in the fight against the Marcomanni as Zwikker suggested (1941, 86); however, the lower section of his *cursus honorum* is missing, exactly from his governorship of Upper Pannonia on the inscription AÉp 1961, 171: Fitz 1993, 493.

[109] G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8, 3 pp. 4948–4949, Alföldy 2001a, 24–25, 31, 37.

[110] Birley 1987, 164–165, 168, 251–252.

[111] Scheidel 1989.

[112] In what capacity Pompeianus led the troops is not known; a joint Pannonian governorship (Fitz 1993, 532–532) is unlikely. The Lower Pannonian governorship of L. Ulpius Marcellus cannot be dated to the 160s: cf. Lőrincz B., Zur Statthalterliste der römischen Provinz Pannonia Inferior. in: Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis. Cluj-Napoca 2004, 37, Nr. 9.

of conspiracy (vita Pert. 2.4).[113] According to the continuation of the *vita Pertinacis* 2.4, Pertinax *quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est*; it is also clear that Pompeianus elaborated a new strategy building primarily on the vexillations[114] and Pertinax was only one of their leaders[115] (cf. CIL XIV 289 = VI 31871: *praepositus v[exillationis per Italiam?] et Raet(iam) et Noric(um) [bello Germanico]* and CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327 [see below]). Vexillations composed of legions from many distant provinces might also have been employed; a recently discovered inscription from Sarmizegetusa proves the participation of *legio XV Apollinaris* (AÉp 1998, 1087).[116] Another famous example is the case of M. Valerius Maximianus (AÉp 1956, 124).[117] According to an inscription found in Diana Veteranorum, the *cursus honorum* of this knight, born in Poetovio, can be reconstructed very well. Following an interval of several years after the Parthian war *allectus ab Imp(eratore) M(arco) Antonino Aug(usto) et missus in procinctu Germanic(ae) exped(itionis) ad deducend(a) per Danuvium quae in annonam Panno(niae) utriusq(ue) exercit(uum) denavigarent praepos(ito) vexillation(um) clas(sium) praetor(iarum) Misenatis item Ravennatis item clas(sis) Brittanic(ae) item equit(um) Afror(um) et Mauror(um) elector(um) ad curam explorationis Pannoniae*, namely, exactly in the period discussed here (surely after Verus' death) Marcus selected him to be the leader of a dual vexillation with a special assignment (*praepos(itus) vexillation(um) clas(sium) praetor(iarum) Misenatis item Ravennatis item clas(sis) Brittanic(ae) item equit(um) Afror(um) et Mauror(um) elector(um)*. From these examples, the task of the fleet units was food delivery for the Pannonian troops on the river (*ad deducend(a) per Danuvium quae in annonam Panno(niae) utriusq(ue) exercit(uum) denavigarent*), while he had to oversee the security of the sections along the banks with the *equites Afri et Mauri*.[118] The technique using vexillations remained characteristic all through the first war; Domaszewski rightly noted *vexilla* (next to the *praetorian signa*) in the

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[113] Alföldy 1974, 201–202, Alföldy 1977, 189, 224, 233, 235, 240, 246, Devijver 1976, 418–420, Nr. H 9, Leunissen 1989, 213, 230, 262, 307, Fitz 1993, 607–616, Nr. 346.

[114] Zwikker 1941, 122–125, 150–179, Birley 1987, 165–169, 251, Saxer 1967, 35–43, Nr. 67–74.

[115] Ibid., 40, Nr. 70.

[116] Cf. Piso 1998.

[117] Pflaum 1955, 135–154, Alföldy 1974, Devijver 1976, 820–822, Nr. V 23, Fitz 1993, 618–623, Nr. 349.

[118] Pflaum 1955, 140–, Alföldy 1974, 204–205.

depictions on Marcus' column, in contrast with Trajan's Column,[119] and it is also no coincidence that at the rain miracle event a vexillation was present consisting of three legions (*legio I adiutrix, X gemina* and *fretensis*), according to the data of Marcus' forged letter; based on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Pertinax may even have led this vexillation.

The same strategy prevailed on the Balkan front. Before being sent to Hispania against the invasion of the Mauri around 171, L. Iulius Vehilius Gallus Iulianus,[120] *praep(ositus) vexillationis per Achaiam et Maced oniam*... *adversus Castabocas* volt (CIL VI 31856 = 41271 = ILS 1327: earlier: *praepositus vexillationibus tempore belli Germanici et Sarmat(ici)*), during the second war: *praep(osito) vexil[la]tion(ibus?) tempore belli [Germ(anici) II*.[121] A great deal of attention was also paid to fortifying the existing, but not sufficiently effective, *praetentura Italiae et Alpium*. In all likelihood, Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus was assigned, with a consular rank, as leader only at this time as *leg(atus) Aug(usti) at (!) praetenturam Italiae et Alpium expeditione Germanica* (ILS 8977 = AÉp 1893, 88, CIL VI 41119),[122] commanding the *legio II* and *III Italica* as well. This is when the construction of the legionary fort at Ločica may have started.[123] Special emphasis was put on the fortification of the individual towns inside the inner defence lines. The city walls of Salona were built in the same year, as inscriptions commemorating the event show (CIL III 1979 = ILS 2616, CIL III 1980, 6374 = ILS 2617: builders: vex. legio II pia and III concors, coh. I and II (mill.) Del.), and military units were stationed in the more important towns,[124] likewise in the towns of Pannonia (as in the case of Poetovio, where the newly established *cohors II Aurelia Dacorum* was stationed during the period of the war: CIL III 15184[16] = AIJ 363 [based on a bone tessera]).[125]

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[119] Marcus-Säule, 107, Caprino 1955, 65, R. Hošek, Die Donauflotte als militärischer und wirtschaftlicher Faktor. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 36.

[120] Alföldy 1985, 87–109, 101= Alföldy 1987, 459–481, 473, Anm. 37.

[121] Zwikker 1941, 168–170, Birley 1987, 165, 168, Scheidel 1989, 494–495, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 5024, adn. ad CIL VI 41271.

[122] Zwikker 1941, 162–163, Degrassi 1954, 116, Swoboda 1964, 251–252, Fitz 1966, 339–340, Nagy 1968, 348–349, Birley 1968, 219–220, Šašel 1974, 225, 229, Alföldy 1977, 183–184, Birley 1987, 164, 251, Fitz 1993, 603–605, Nr. 344, G. Alföldy, adn. ad CIL VI 41119, FPA 2, 112–113.

[123] As I already mentioned above the earlier station of these legions is debated, as is the station of the *legio III Italica* during the *praetentura* (maybe Tridentum).

[124] Zwikker 1941, 173–178.

[125] Lőrincz 2001, 34, Nr. 19, 52, 92, 146, 245, Nr. 293.

Driving the enemy first out of Italy then from the provinces was a slow but successful process (lasting well into 171). The slowness of the process can be demonstrated by the story saved by Xiphilinus according to which a soldier on guard, hearing the cries of his fellow soldiers, swam across the Danube and saved them (LXXI.5.2 = Xiph. 250,3–250,7). One of the earliest signs of this is that as early as 170, but still during the office of Sex. Cornelius Clemens, the new Dacian governor after Claudius Fronto, new releases took place from *legio V Macedonica* (CIL III 7505 = 2311).[126] Based on Zwikker, another issue seems to be almost certain; the victory described by the *vita Marci*, namely, the victory over the withdrawing Marcomanni at the Danube (20.10), is the same victory described by Cassius Dio (LXXI.3.3–4).[127] Moreover, this is related to the emperor's VIth acclamation, therefore the victory can be dated to 171.[128] This victory and the acclamation were advertised more and more confidently by Marcus' coins with the legends Vict(oria) Ger(manica) or Aug. (RIC III [1930] 240, 1000, 1013). The latter legends and the acclamation, however, only appeared on the coins of the emperor in October, 171 (emission 23).[129] Pertinax and Maximianus both excelled during the battles. Pertinax thereafter began his senatorial career as a *tribunus* or *aedilis*, then soon became the commander of the *legio I adiutrix* (cf. Dio LXXI.3.2, vita Pertinacis 2.5–6. *in quo munere adprobatus lectus est in senatu<m>. postea iterum re bene gesta prodita est factio, quae illi concinnata fuerat, Marcusque imperator, ut conpensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae legioni regendae inposuit, statimque R<a>etias et Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit.*). Maximianus became the *praefectus* of[130] *ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum*, stationed in Celamantia (Izsa).[131]

The events of the years 171 to 175 seem to have been even more chaotic. Although Xiphilinus' epitome is in chronological order, the

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[126] Zwikker 1941, 179, Stein 1944, 44, Alföldy 1977, 196, 223, Piso 1993, 103–105, Nr. 227.

[127] If Domaszewski's dating of the scenes on the column is correct (cf. Domaszewski 1895, Marcus-Säule, 107–115), and if the events started in 171, this event may be related to the victory over the Quadi and not to the ousting of the barbarians and the rain miracle also took place in the same year. In this case the person creating an extract of Dio's work mixed up the imperial acclamations of Marcus and connected the previous event mistakenly to VII, which took place in 174: Domaszewski 1895, 123, Anm. 1, 125.

[128] Zwikker 1941, 178–179, Nagy 1962, 44, Birley 1987, 168–169.

[129] Szaivert 1986, 121, 204.

[130] Lőrincz 2001, 20.

[131] Alföldy 1974, 205–206.

dating and the establishment of the actual chronological order of Dio's *excerpta* referring to envoys and peace agreements is problematic. Luckily, however, the *excerpta* are presumably also in chronological order.[132] Judging from the Roman strategy two things seem apparent:

1. They would have liked to transfer the venue of the military actions to the lands of the barbarians as soon as possible, which they could hardly have managed before 172 (cf. the reverses of coins displaying a Danube bridge with the legend VIRTVS AVG [on which the Roman troops cross the river to the land of the barbarians] that were minted from this year (RIC III (1930) 270, 1047) and scenes I–II of Marcus' Column).
2. They would have liked to start dividing the barbarian coalition, unified thus far, by means of diplomatic tools. They were doing so intensively[133] and not without success because, as a result of this, they made peace with the Quadi with the explicit purpose of isolating the Marcomanni from the Sarmatians and the rest of their Eastern allies (Dio LXXI.11.2. οἱ Κούαδοι, καὶ ἔτυχόν γε αὐτῆς, ἵνα τε ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι).

The first negotiations must have taken place following the successful Roman campaigns of 171 and 172, when, according to Cassius Dio, Marcus remained in Pannonia (LXXI.11.1).[134] There were two basic types of negotiations: some offered only peace agreements and new *foedus*, while others (soon in the majority), argued for *deditio*. First an unspecified German tribe under the leadership of a 12-year-old boy, Battarios, offered its alliance. This *foedus* did take place, for which Battarios received money and the barbarians were used against another German tribe threatening Dacia (LXXI.11.1). The tribe under the leadership of Tarbos basically demanded the same thing: money. The policy of Marcus remained the same as before: to resolve emergencies with money instead of weapons if possible (cf. Tac. Ger. 42.2. *raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur*), and he also tried to stir up the various barbarian tribes against each other. It is clear from this situation that

[132] Zwikker 1941, 188, Anm. 123, Instinsky 1972, 477.
[133] Cf. Stahl 1989.
[134] Zwikker 1941, 189–196, Alföldi 1942, 196–197, Nagy 1962, 44, Mócsy 1962, 558–559, Birley 1987, 169–171, Stahl 1989, 301–304, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40.

only some tribes demanded reception. Following this, another peace agreement was made with the Quadi in order to divide the barbarian grand coalition, as described earlier (LXX.11.2–3). The conditions for peace by and large remained the same as in the case of the Quadi:

1. The extradition of fugitives and the captured provincial population (the first data mentions 13 000 people!).
2. Provision of foodstuffs (animals) in order to feed the army.
3. The prohibition of visits to market-places (important from a strategic point of view so no information could be disseminated concerning the whereabouts of Roman troops).
4. Along with the Quadi, other tribes also requested peace. Providing auxiliary troops was also a condition for them (this did materialize and allied German horsemen appear in scenes XXII–XXIII of Marcus' Column).
5. Reception in the areas of Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Germania, and even Italy around Ravenna (LXXI.11.4–5).

These data not only appear in Dio's work; they are mentioned with emphasis twice by the *vita Marci* as well: 22.2. *accepit in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam traductis*, 24.3. *infinitos ex gentibus in solo Romano collocavit*. This could not have been a simple process according to other information provided by Dio (LXXI.11.5), as Ravenna later had to be cleared of the Marcomanni settled around the town. It is possible that the provincial unrest during Commodus' reign can be traced back to this as well (*vita Commodi* 13.5–6. *Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per legatos Mauri, victi Daci, Pannoniae quoque conpositae <et> Brittannia, in Germania et in Dacia imperium eius recusantibus provincialibus; quae omnia ista per duces sedata sunt*). Due to the appearance of the Marcomanni in the narrative it is necessary to consider the possibility that the reception was not a one-time event, but that it occurred continuously.[135] Marcus' real reasons for changing the routine and receiving barbarians in greater numbers in the already Romanized areas, even in Italy, are unknown; one can only guess that his intention might have been to repopulate areas deserted after the plague. This is the reason why these events

[135] Zwikker 1941, 189–194, Birley 1987, 169–170, Stahl 1989, 302, Dobesch 1994, 105–112.

cannot be compared to the great receptions of the first century (cf. CIL XIV 3608 = ILS 986, the reception of 100 000 people by Plautius Silvanus, governor of Moesia).[136]

The negotiations not only took place in the presence of Marcus but, as was also the case earlier, the individual *legati* could also conclude agreements. The Dacian governor Cornelius Clemens, for example, attempted to solve the problem of German tribes settling in the area of northeastern Hungary on his own authority (Dio LXXI.11.6–12.2). One branch of the Vandals, the Astingoi, arrived at the borders of Dacia at this time under the leadership of Raos and Raptos, and, similarly to the others, offered their alliance for money and land. Although they were not granted land, in return for the alliance Clemens sent them against the Costoboci, who had caused much headache before, and they had to leave their families behind to defend (and in the custody of) the *legatus*. Their action was so successful that soon they threatened the province again. However, the Lacringi, a branch of the Vandals who had settled near the province in an earlier stage of the war, were successfully employed against them. In the ensuing *foedus* their earlier demands were now granted; they did receive land (even if it was outside the borders of the province) and money, in return for which they were to provide military services.[137]

The Cotini became allies under similar conditions at the same time. Under the leadership of Tarruttienus Paternus,[138] the *ab epistulis Latinis*, Roman troops were stationed in the land of the Cotini so that they could attack the Marcomanni living to the west (Dio LXXI.12.3).[139] According to this passage one can agree with Pieta, who connected the Púchov culture, occupying most of Central and Eastern Europe, with the Cotini (and the Osi).[140] The Cotini, however, did not respect the agreement and for this reason a punitive campaign was started against them. The rain miracle was an important event during this campaign. According to Dio's reference they καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο, meaning they became

[136] Zwikker 1941, 193, Birley 1987, 170, Dobesch 1994, 110–111.

[137] Zwikker 1941, 194–196, Bóna 1986, 61–66, Birley 1987, 170–171, Dobesch 1994, 112–113.

[138] Concerning his name: CIL VI 41273–41274 (with full literature).

[139] Marcus-Säule, 113, Zwikker 1941, 194–195, Birley 1987, 171, Dobesch 1994, 114.

[140] K. Pieta, Die Púchov-Kultur. Nitra 1982, Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 23 (2003) 597–601. See also Szabó M., A keleti kelták. A késő vaskor a Kárpát-medencében. Budapest 2005, 68–70, 75.

entirely extinct as a result of this military action. Nevertheless, this need not be taken literally, as, apart from the Cotini settled earlier in Pannonia and also mentioned by Ptolemy (Ptol. II.14.2), there is data about peoples who definitely arrived later.[141] Their descendants could have been the dozens of *praetoriani* (and their wives) who called themselves *cives Cotini* on Rome city inscriptions during the period of Severus Alexander and Decius (CIL VI 2833+2389+2835 = 32542, 2800+2832+3419 = 32544, 2831+2852 = 32557),[142] mentioning at the same time that their *origo* was Mursa and Cibalae. They held Roman citizenship and were assigned to Aelia *pseudotribus* according to their *origo*; however, they were all M. Aurelii.[143]

Examining the data of the peace negotiations there is every reason to draw a conclusion concerning the order of the campaigns starting on the land of the barbarians.[144] According to Dio LXXI.11.3, the Quadi were not granted the right to visit market-places for fear that Marcomanni and Iazyges would mingle with them and spy on the Roman troops—therefore the war still had to be in progress against these two peoples. According to LXXI.11.2, it is also certain that the Quadi were granted peace so that they would be divided from the Marcomanni (ἵνα τε ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι). According to Dio LXXI.12.3, it becomes clear that Tarruttienus Paternus went to the land of the Cotini in order to start a war against the Marcomanni. According to this it is clear that Marcus settled matters first with the Quadi (and the Cotini) and the intervention (with the main forces) against the Marcomanni could only have taken place afterwards. In all probability the death of M. Vindex, praetorian prefect, during a battle lost in the war against the Marcomanni, took place during the events

[141] Domaszewski 1895, 124–125, A. Alföldi, Pannonia rómaiságának kialakulása és történeti keretei. Századok 70, 1936, 27, Alföldi 1942, 228–229, j. 272, Mócsy 1959, 79–80, Mócsy 1962, 711, Régészeti kézikönyv, 60, j. 36, 239, j. 6, Zs. Visy, Cotini in Pannonia. Specimina Nova 1993, 8–12, FPA 1, 70–72, 262–263.

[142] C. Ricci, Balcanici e Danubiani a Roma. Attestazioni epigraphiche di abitanti delle province Rezia, Norico, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmazia, Mesia, Macedonia, Tracia (I–III sec.). in: Prosopographica. Poznań 1993, 183, P1–3.

[143] The negative opinion of Alföldi, therefore, cannot be decisive. It is another interesting question, however, how these *de iure dediticii* received Roman citizenship and could serve in the guard. This problem, however, could be raised in relation to any reception. Some of the Cotini may have kept the *foedus* and, as a reward, obtained lands in the province (cf. Dio LXXI.19.1) or, following the dedition, not everybody remained *dediticius* forever: Kovács 2007, 113–115, No. 74.

[144] Zwikker 1941, 191–195, otherwise: Schmitt 1997, 146–147.

of the campaign of the year 172,[145] as did the victory, following which Marcus assumed the *Germanicus* title (Dio LXXI.3.5, CIL III 1450 = ILS 370, 6121, 7409, VIII 4209).[146] This title was also adopted by his son, Commodus, in October 172 (*vita Commodi* 11.13). This is the year when the coins of the emperor, complete with GERMANIA SVBACTA reverses, were issued for the first time (emission 24).[147] The *Germanicus* title appeared as early as the year 173 on Marcus' coins (emission 25),[148] which cannot be dated to the end of the year as Zwikker has suggested.[149] The date of Vindex's defeat is apparent not only because of the date of the granting of the *Germanicus* title, but also because of its place in the epitome. Xiphilinus reports on this following the IVth imperial acclamation, therefore it has to be a later event (Xiph. 259, 26).

The events relating to Pertinax and Valerius Maximianus could have happened any time between 171 and 173, during which, following his appointment as commander of *legio I adiutrix*, Pertinax *statimque R<a>etias et Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit* (vita Pert. 2.6). As the *praefectus* of the already mentioned *ala*, Maximianus was rewarded for the heroic act of personally killing the king of the Naristae, one of the smaller German tribes;[150] Marcus decorated him and he was able to enter the *militia quarta*: *in procinctu Germanico ab Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) coram laudatus et equo et phaleris et armis donato quod manu sua ducem Naristarum Valaonem interemisset et in eade(m) ala quartae militiae honor(em) adeptus* (AÉp 1956, 124).[151] The grave inscription of Aelius Septimus, an *optio* of the *legio I adiutrix* (CIL III 4310 = 10969 = AÉp 1962, 221 = RIU 509: *[q]ui desideratus est [in expedi(tione)] Varis(tica)*:) supports the conclusion that he died during this campaign, and that the leader of the entire

[145] It is likely (cf. G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 p. 4960) that one of the bases (unfortunately fragmentary) erected by Marcus in Trajan's forum commemorated Vindex; the statue, however, was erected after the death of Vindex: CIL VI 41148.

[146] Domaszewski 1895, 117–118, Schwendemann 1923, 77, Zwikker 1941, 188–189, 192, Kneissl 1969, 106–107, Birley 1987, 171, 251–252, Kienast 1996, 139.

[147] Szaivert 1986, 121, 205.

[148] Szaivert 1986, 122, 205–206.

[149] Zwikker 1941, 192.

[150] The latter event was thought to have been discovered on scene XLIII of Marcus' Column, where one can see the destruction of a barbarian village (L. Rossi, Sull' iconografia e storiografia celebrativa di Marco Aurelio dall' epigrafe di M. Valerio Massimiano. Quaderni Ticinesi 6, 1977, 223–232). If this rather plausible identification is correct, it confirms my opinion, expressed earlier, that the events of the column start only from year 173.

[151] Fitz 1967, Alföldy 1974, 206–207, Alföldy 1987, 342, 347–348, Birley 1987, 171, 175–176, 252, Fitz 1993, 613–614, 621–622.

operation was the commander of the legion, namely Pertinax.[152] It is not possible, however, to conclude that the two events took place at the same time (even in the same year). The cleansing of Raetia and Noricum of barbarians took place rather in 171.[153] A campaign on barbarian land is much more probable to have taken place in 172 or, rather, in 173.[154]

Assessing the events of the year 173 seems problematic to me, although according to a widely accepted opinion this year saw really remarkable Roman success, the closing of the first phase of the war, the war against the Marcomanni, after which the theatre of war was transferred to the Sarmatian front.[155] The basic problem is that this Roman victory, resulting in the assumption of the *Germanicus* title, should probably be dated to 172 and there is no information that the campaign against the Marcomanni continued on into the following year. The *vita Commodi* 11.13 almost certainly comes from the *Acta Urbis*; therefore, it is likely to be accurate.[156] According to the 22.2 data of the *vita Marci*, Marcus... *accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam traductis.*[157] The *Excerpta Ursiniana*, if only indirectly, also refers to the dedition (Exc. U^G 60 (p. 410) = Dio LXXI.15). The following becomes apparent concerning the history of the peace negotiations conducted later:

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[152] Barkóczi 1957.

[153] Based on the data of the *vita Pertinacis* many have suggested that: 1. Pertinax was the commander of *legio I Minervia* (yet even E. Ritterling considered the *legio I adiutrix*: PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1397, 1401) 2. The event should be dated to a later year (174), as, according to the continuation of the *vita* 2.7, due to his merits (*ex quo eminente industria studio Marci imperatoris consul est designatus*) that surely took place in 175 (cf. Dio LXXI.22.1): Zwikker 1941, 216–219, Lippold 1980, Lippold 1983. Based on this conclusion it cannot be proved according to Dio that Pertinax became *consul designatus* due to his merits (in pluralis: ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις). If the leader of the Roman troops present during the rain miracle was really Pertinax (see scene XVI of Marcus' Column and the frequently quoted data of the *Chronicon* (Chron. 222.1 [Karst] = Hier. Chron. 206i [Helm]), then the German legion can also be excluded, as according to the forged letter of Marcus the miracle took place in the presence of the vexillation of the *legio I adiutrix*, the *X gemina* and *fretensis*. See Alföldy's comments: Alföldy 1987, 342–348.

[154] Fitz 1967, 48–49, Alföldy 1974, 207, Birley 1987, 175–176, 252, Fitz 1993, 621–622.

[155] Marcus-Säule, 119–121, Zwikker 1941, 187–196, Alföldi 1942, 197, Nagy 1962, 44, Mócsy 1962, 558–559, Birley 1987, 175–176, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40.

[156] Kneissl 1969, 107.

[157] Schwendemann 1923, 94–96, Stahl 1989, 303–304, Nr. 8–9.

1. The Marcomanni complied with the agreement.
2. One of the important conditions of the peace agreement was that the Marcomanni had to vacate a 76-(10 MP)-stadia-wide zone along the Danube.
3. Similarly to the Quadi, they were also forbidden to visit Roman markets.[158]

These data, however, do not at all suggest that the war against the Marcomanni would have extended to the year 173, Therefore, I necessarily have to draw the following conclusion: provided that the victory over the Marcomanni that led Marcus to assume the title *Germanicus* really took place during the autumn of 172, then it was, in all probability, followed by the dedition of the Marcomanni. Thus it also becomes understandable why the sources discuss the three-year-long stay of the emperor in Carnuntum (A.D. 170–172 (and not 173): Eutr. VIII.13, Aur. Vict. 16.13, Oros. Hist. 7.15.6, Hier. Chron. 207e (177 A.D.!), Prosper Tiro Chron. 703 p. 431). The written sources, therefore, suggest that the first phase of the war, the *bellum Marcomannicum*, had already finished by the end of 172. At the same time it is uncertain how much this can be harmonized with the sequence of scenes on Marcus' Column.

From the continuation of Xiphilinus' epitome it be can concluded that there was already war against the Sarmatians (Xiph. 250,7–251,22 = Dio LXXI.7), but the reconstruction of the chronology of the events between 173–175 is even more difficult than that of the occurrences so far. The written sources provide very limited information about the battles against the Sarmatians. At the same time, Xiphilinus also only mentions one battle on the ice of the Danube that could have taken place sometime in the early phases of the war (maybe during the winter of 172–173)[159] (250,7–251,22 = Dio LXXI.7).[160] It also is important for this reason to identify the individual scenes of Marcus' Column, basically to connect them to concrete historical events. Similarly, almost nothing is known about how the Sarmatians behaved in the earlier

[158] The rest of the assumptions made by Stahl 1989, 303 do not ensue from this passage.
[159] Nagy 1962, 44.
[160] Zwikker 1941, 196–202, Šašel Kos 1986, 250–252, Birley 1987, 177–179. Hungarian researchers have noted add too much to this: Alföldi 1942, 197–199, Nagy 1962, 44–45, Mócsy 1962, 559–560, Mócsy 1974, 190, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40.

phase of the war. It is known that they participated in the Costobocian invasion (Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 19, 1895, 119, Nr. 2 = IG II[2] 3411) and that Claudius Fronto fought successfully against them many times (CIL VI 1377 = 31640 = 41142+pp. 3141, 3805, 4948 = ILS 1098: *post aliquot(!) secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Íazyges*), which means that they were also active on the Lower Danube. Luckily, the sources confirm the likely fact that after three years Marcus moved his headquarters from Carnuntum to Sirmium.[161] Philostratus, in his biography of Herodes Atticus,[162] dedicates a lengthy description to the trial in which Atticus, the one-time tutor of Marcus, had a quarrel with the Quintilii and was accused by the Athenians (and tried in vain to defend himself in front of the governor)[163] and had to appear before the tribunal of the emperor in Sirmium as his enemies turned to Marcus in the case (*Vita sophistarum* II.1.26–32 [559–562]).[164] According to the words of Philostratus, by this time Sirmium was the emperor's main Pannonian base: ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκάθητο ἐς τὰ Παιόνια ἔθνη ὁρμητηρίῳ τῷ Σιρμίῳ χρώμενος. Marcus (and his family members: it is no coincidence that Faustina was first granted the *mater castrorum* title)[165] had an imperial palace (τὰ βασίλεια) at his disposal, probably with an *aula* that Philostratus called τὸ βασίλειον δικαστήριον.[166] Atticus lived in one of the villas built in the suburbs[167] (Ἡρώδης ἐν προαστείῳ ἐσκήνου, ἐν ᾧ πύργοι ἐξῳκοδόμηντο καὶ ἡμιπύργια).[168] His dear twin servants sleeping in one of these πύργοι were struck to death by lightning; then Atticus' trial, where he became passionate because of this event, had an unfavourable ending. Although the emperor did not send him into exile, on his "advice" he did not return to Athens for a while. One inscription erected in his honour also refers to Herodes Atticus' stay

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[161] Zwikker 1941, 197–201, Birley 1987, 179–181, 297, Millar 1992, 3–12.

[162] In a different section of the *vita sophistarum* (II 571) this sophist, Alexandros (Pélo-platón), was probably also invited to Sirmium by Marcus to assume the function of *ab epistulis Graecis*: PIR[2] A 503, Birley 1987, 184, n. 1. Cf. Marcus Med. I.12.

[163] J. Tobin, Herodes Attikos and the city of Athens: patronage and conflict under the Antonines. Amsterdam 1997, Millar 1992, 4–7, 122–123.

[164] Ameling 1983, 136–151.

[165] Kienast 1996, 141.

[166] Millar 1992, 4–7, 47–48.

[167] The πύργοι and the ἡμιπύργια could not have been parts of the defence system, they would have simply stood for some kind of individual villa type (maybe complete with a tower): H. G. Liddel – R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996, 1556, 773, Ameling 1983, 145, Anm. 58.

[168] Mirković 1971, 33–34, 59, n. 353.

in Sirmium, when, following the emperor, Atticus had returned from the distant Sarmatians (IG II^2 3606 = PIR^2 C 802/9 = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 50, 1926, 527): νοστήσαντ' (sc. Atticus) Ἀβίων ἀπὸ Σαυροματάων γαίης ἐκ νεάτης, ἔνθα φιλοπτολέμῳ Αὐσονίων βασιλῆι συνέσπατο τῆλ' ἐλάοντι.[169] The arguments behind the dating of the trial have not changed much recently and there is no evidence that the emperor spent the winter of 169–170 in Sirmium (Marcus would hardly have considered the Sarmatians a major enemy); the sources only mention Carnuntum at this time (see above).[170] According to the CIL II 4208 = ILS 6928 = RIT 332 inscription, C. Valerius Valens was also sent successfully to Sirmium as an envoy, and had a statue erected for this reason in Tarraco (*ob legationem | censualem gra|tuitam Sirmi pro|[s]pere gestam | [a]put imperator(em))*.[171] On 18 March 175, also at Sirmium, a young *lanista* wrote his testament (its copy in stone was found in Cefalù) in which he asked his father to free his *alumnus* and slave (CIL X 7457 = ILS 8377 = C. G. Bruns, Fontes iuris Romani antiqui I. Tübingen 1909, 316–317, Nr. 122 = S. Riccobono, Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani III. Firenze 1943, 170, Nr. 56).[172] He has to have fallen in battle and the testament clearly shows Sirmium's central role as a military base in this period. His *servus*, Aprilis, from his *familia gladiatoria* was the only one who survived: *liberes item Aprilem servum meum qui solus ex ministerio meo superavit.* This fact shows the heavy casualties of the war against the Sarmatians. The gladiators obviously did not fall in the *amphiteatrum*, but the emperor also sent them into action, as is clearly mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*: *vita Marci* 21.7. *Armavit etiam gladiatores, quos obsequentes appellavit.* 23.5. *Fuit enim populo hic sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philosophiam.*[173]

In the second phase of the war, battles were fought against the Quadi (Dio LXXI.13.2–14) and the Cotini (Dio LXXI.12.3), who were breaking the peace: the individuals escorted as prisoners with torques around their necks in scene LXIX (Nos. 1, 3, 7, 10) could be Cotini after all. Both peoples broke the peace agreement the same way even

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169 Zwikker 1941, 199, Anm. 147–149, Ameling 1983 I, 151, II, 205–211, Nr. 191.

170 Zwikker 1941, 199–200, Anm. 152, Birley 1987, 297.

171 G. Alföldy, Ein spanische Gesandtschaft in Pannonien. Archivo Español de Arqueología 43, 1970, 169–174, RIT pp. 182–183, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40.

172 R. Marino, A proposito di un'iscrizione latina di Cefalù. Kokalos 20, 1974, 213–217, G. Mangarano, La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano. In: ANRW II/11 (1988) 57–58.

173 Zwikker 1941, 105, Birley 1987, 159, 181–182, 200–201.

during the war against the Marcomanni, by sheltering Marcomannic refugees (Dio LXXI.12.3, 13.2) or by not complying with the conditions of the peace. Therefore, only a few prisoners of the Romans returned, and they were either weak or their relatives had been held hostage. It seems evident that the action against the violators of the peace took place before the campaign against the Sarmatians (Dio LXXI.13.2). The preceding unsuccessful Sarmatian request for peace could point to this (LXXI.13.1). According to the traditional chronology, discussed in length in relation to the rain miracle, the action against the Quadi took place in 174, before the VIIth imperial acclamation.[174] The dating in question, however, is achieved by dating the event from Dio (LXXI.8–10), namely, the rain miracle, to two years earlier. If one accepts the idea first proposed by Guey that the LXXI.10. of Dio is not interpolation (as Domaszewski suggested), but the events between the rain miracle, the dedition of the Quadi, and the acclamation are missing due to Xiphilinus' epitome, then one can readily suppose that the intervention against the Quadi and Cotini took place as early as the spring of 173, and the most memorable events of this intervention were the lightning and rain miracles. This, however, is contradicted by Xiphilinus' comment that the war against the Quadi took place after the victory over the Marcomanni and the Iazyges (Dio LXXI.8.1 = Xiph. 251, 22–24). At the same time, Xiphilinus definitely misinterpreted the events, because the punitive expedition against the Quadi took place during the Sarmatian war; moreover, it is also possible that he referred to the continuing wars against the Sarmatians (see the dating of the battle on the frozen Danube to the winter of 172–173: 250,7–251,22 = Dio LXXI.7).[175]

Without the full knowledge of Dio's text one can only draw conclusions retrospectively from the data of the peace talks (LXXI.13.2–4–14 = Exc. U^{G} 59 [p. 409], Exc. V. 304 [p. 717]).[176] The root of the problems must have been that among the Quadi the pro-war party again overturned the Rome-friendly ruler, Furtios, and helped the belligerent Ariogaisos to the throne. Marcus was not prepared to acknowledge the

[174] Zwikker 1941, 202–204, 234–236, Birley 1987, 176–177.

[175] We must see the events in a very different light from the aspect of the scenes of Marcus' Column, where the two miracles (scenes XI and XVI) definitely took place in the first year of the campaign, in 171 or 172. If the events occurred in 171, the data of Xiphilinos is definitely mistaken and the miracle took place prior to the VIth and not the VIIth imperial acclamation, during the summer of 171.

[176] Stahl 1989, 303–305, Nr. 9–11.

new king, even though the Quadi offered to free 50 000 prisoners of war. The emperor set a ransom on the head of Ariogaisos (1000 *aurei* alive, 500 dead). Still, later, when the Quadi king became a prisoner he only punished him with exile to Alexandria. One can get acquainted with the course of the campaign based on the scenes on Marcus' Column; the most important are crossing the Danube (III), the lightning miracle (XI), the rain miracle (XVI) and the ensuing dedition (XVII), which might only have referred to the Cotini. The crowning of a new Rome-friendly ruler was definitely among the terms of peace, just as the clearing of the river bank in a 5-MP-wide area (cf. Dio LXXI.16.1). Based on one of Dio's excerpts, it is clear that during this time the Marcomanni observed the conditions of the peace treaty and therefore requested the easing of the rigorous conditions. Their demands were partially met; the 10 MP area was reduced to half, they could again visit the Roman markets that were so important for them (the venues and the times were set again), and they reinforced the peace agreement by exchanging hostages (Dio LXXI.15).[177] The exchange of hostages, based on its place in *Excerpta Ursiniana*, occurred after the peace agreement with the Quadi but before the permanent defeat of the Sarmatians (Exc. U^{G} 59–60–61 [pp. 409–410]).

In spite of the victories, the latest peace agreements with the Sarmatians took place in a hurry; the revolt of Avidius Cassius, which broke out in April, 175,[178] made Marcus conclude a peace agreement quickly, and, in spite of his habits, he did not even inform the *senatus* of the conditions (Dio LXXI.17, *vita Marci* 24.5, 25.1).[179] The *Excerpta Ursiniana* preserves exact data on the war (Dio LXXI.16 = Exc. U^{G} 61 [p. 410]). As a result of the defeat, the peace party won among the Sarmatians, the nobles overturned the warring King Banadaspos, and Zantikos was crowned, who requested peace. They accepted the same type of conditions as the Quadi and the Marcomanni, namely, vacating a zone of 10 miles,[180] returning 100 000(!) prisoners of war, they also put eight-

[177] Zwikker 1941, 204–205, 236, Birley 1987, 178.

[178] Birley 1987, 183–187, M. L. Astarita, Avidio Cassio. Roma 1983, Kienast 1996, 142.

[179] Zwikker 1941, 205–206, Alföldi 1942, 198, Nagy 1962, 45, Mócsy 1962, 559–560, Birley 1987, 183, 189–190, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40.

[180] Even if these conditions were kept for a while, in the light of datable archeological finds (coins, terra sigillata and other, primarily Roman, import goods) it did not last long in the case of either people neighbouring Pannonia: D. Gabler, Der Grenzhandel am östlichen Limes von Pannonien. in: Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen geographie des Altertums 4, 1990. Geographica Historica 7. Amsterdam 1994, 503–516.

thousand cavalrymen at the disposal of the emperor; of these, 5500 went to Britannia (and remained there forever as *numerus*, *ala*, and *cuneus* units [in the late Roman period: Not. Dig. Occ. XL.54] (cf. *n(umerus) eq(uitum) Sarm(atarum) Bremetenn(acensium)*: Ribchester-Bremetennacum: RIB 583, 594–595).[181] In spite of the fact that Marcus had rejected the aid offered by many peoples (Dio LXXI.27.1[a]), ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμον, οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο, καίτοι πολλῶν· συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰδέναι τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακά. Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 119 (p. 224 Mai. = p. 206, 24–28 Dind.), all peoples of client status were compelled to provide auxiliary troops (mainly cavalry).[182] The best example of this is again the career of Valerius Maximianus. The emperor, leaving for the East, took his favourite commander with him as *praep(ositus) equitib(us) gent(ium) Marcomannor(um) Narist(arum) Quador(um) ad vindictam Orientalis motus pergentium honor(e) centenariae dignitatis* (AÉp 1956, 124).[183] Following the peace treaty, from the summer of 175, he assumed the *Sarmaticus* title as well; his troops proclaimed him *imperator* eight times, indicating that he had solved the Sarmatian question as well (at least from a propaganda point of view).[184] Honey-cake moulds found at Aquincum may depict this event, with Marcus sitting on the *tribunal* and young Commodus standing next to him as they are greeted by soldiers.[185]

Marcus definitely felt that the question was not settled, as the Sarmatians seemed to be too strong for him, despite their list of defeats (Dio LXXI.16.2. γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι ἔρρωντο, vita Marci 25.1. *rel<i>cto ergo Sarmatico Marcommannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est*). It is even more difficult to decide what Dio's next words from the same source mean: ὁ γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤθελε μὲν [καὶ] αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκόψαι. In an earlier passage Dio's wording was almost the same: LXXI.13.1. ἐπίπαν ἐξελεῖν ἠθέλησεν. The translation of the infinitives ἐκκόψαι

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[181] I. A. Richmond, The Sarmatae, Bremetennacum Veteranorum, and the Regio Bremetennacensis. JRS 35, 1945, 16–29, S. Frere, Britannia. London-Boston 1978[2], 186–187, 213.

[182] Birley 1987, 190–191.

[183] Alföldy 1974, 208.

[184] Kneissl 1969, 104–105, 107, Birley 1987, 189, Kienast 1996, 139.

[185] Kuzsinszky B., A gázgyári római fazekastelep Aquincumban—Das grosse römische Töpferviertel in Aquincum bei Budapest. BudRég 11, 1932, 232–234, A. Alföldi, Tonmodel und Reliefmedaillons aus den Donauländern. In: Laureae Aquincenses I. DissPann II/10. Budapest 1938, 328, Nr. 9, Alföldi 1942, 234, j. 326.

and ἐξελεῖν is vigorously debated. They have been thought to stand for expelling (Mommsen) as well as extermination (Hampl).[186] Regardless of who is right in the debate, the emphasised infinitives (παντάπασιν, ἐπίπαν) undoubtedly refer to some radical solution (cf. Dio LXIX.14.1) and the imperfect ἤθελε expresses Dio's persistent wish, too. It is also likely that the μέν particle supposes a δέ as well, whose answer probably would have been the revolt of Avidius Cassius found in the continuation of the fragment, which prevented Marcus from carrying out his intention (Dio LXXI.16–17 = Exc. U^G 61–62 (p. 410)).[187] It is similarly debated what the already quoted words of the *vita Marci* mean related to this: 24.5. *Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam Sarmatiam facere, et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in oriente.*[188] It is a fact that these words of Dio by no means referred to the intention to establish new provinces (cf. the peace agreement already settled with the subjugated Marcomanni and Quadi). Therefore, a possible theory is that this passage of the *vita Marci* is at best a projection of the plans drawn up during the second war at an earlier point in time (or, rather, that it can be traced back to parallel, interdependent sections of Cassius Dio and Herodian [LXXI.33.4^2, I.5.6, 6.6]).[189] If Marcus thought of the destruction of the Sarmatians with the establishment of a province in mind, just as Trajan did in the case of Dacia,[190] it still remains a question why he did not plan the same for the peoples of Marcomannia, his other province-to-be, for the Marcomanni and the Quadi, with whom he had already concluded valid peace treaties. The Quadi were unreliable as they also regularly violated the *foedus*. Even during the preparation against Avidius Cassius, battles were taking place on many fronts, as one of the fragments of Dio reports that, along with the news of the death of the rebel, Marcus also received the news of many victories

[186] Instinsky 1972, 474–480, Pirson 1996, 176–177.
[187] Instinsky 1972, 479–480.
[188] Schwendemann 1923, 181–182, F. Hampl, Kaiser Marc Aurel und die Völker jenseits der Donaugrenze. Eine quellenkritische Studie. in: Festschrift für R. Heuberger. Innsbruck 1960, 33–40, Swoboda 1964, 55, 252, A. R. Birley, Roman frontier policy under Marcus Aurelius. in: Roman Frontier Studies 1967. Tel Aviv 1971, 7–12, Mócsy 1971, Alföldy 1971, Instinsky 1972, Birley 1979, 487–492, Birley 1987, 253–255, Alföldy 1989, 63–64, 67–68.
[189] Alföldi 1942, 231, j. 298, in addition: Alföldy 1971, 401–402, Mócsy 1971, 64–65, Instinsky 1972, 481–482, Anm. 25. On the contrary see Birley 1979, 501, Anm. 142, Birley 1987, 253–254.
[190] Alföldi 1942, 231, j. 298.

(264, 25–27 = Dio LXXI.27.2. παρασκευαζομένῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ νῖκαι κατὰ διαφόρων βαρβάρων ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κασσίου θάνατος ἀπηγγέλθη).

Receiving the news of the rebellion during the conclusion of peace treaties, Marcus sent for Commodus, who put on the *toga virilis* representing manhood for the first time on 7 July, 175,[191] following which he became *princeps iuventutis* (vita Comm. 2.1–2, 12.2–3: *Pisone Iuliano consulibus. profectus in Germaniam XIIII. kal. Aelias, ut postea nominavit. isdem conss. togam virilem accepit*), and sent vexillations containing troops from Illyricum to protect the city of Rome, but especially in order to calm the rising panic (*vita Marci* 25.2, vita Avid. Cass. 7.7) (AÉp 1920, 45: *praepositus vexillationibus ex Illyrico missis ab Imperatore Divo Marco Antonino ad tutelam urbis*). Heading the troops was Vettius Sabinianus, who, as governor of Pannonia Inferior, had been fighting the Quadi and Sarmatians successfully for many years (see his decorations on his inscription).[192] Due to him a great number of troops was detached from the Pannonian units as well. In spite of the fact that the rebellion soon failed following the death of Avidius Cassius, the emperor still felt it necessary to visit the eastern provinces; moreover, he decided to do so in the company of his family (Faustina died on the road), the entire court, and significant military support. As already noted, he took along Pannonian (*dux exercitus Illyrici*: CIL II 4114 = ILS 1140) and barbarian auxiliary troops. He entrusted the two Quintilii, Maximus and Condianus, with the two Pannoniae; they were the *legati* of the two provinces during the second war as well.[193] He could not really rid himself of worries about the wars on the north, and this fact is confirmed by his words during his Palestinian visit, as recorded by Ammianus:

> 22.5.5. *ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret Aegyptum petens, Iudaeorum fetentium et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus dolenter dicitur exclamasse 'o Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni'.*[194]

Marcus only returned to Rome after eight years of absence, as the story recorded by Cassius Dio shows, and the people signalled the number eight, wishing to receive a donation of 8 *aurei* per head from

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[191] Birley 1987, 187–189, Hekster 2002, 34–37.
[192] Zwikker 1941, 222–223, Saxer 1967, 42, Nr. 73, Birley 1987, 187, Régészeti kézikönyv, 40, Alföldy 1977, 252, Fitz 1993, 496–499, Nr. 294.
[193] Fitz 1993, 494–495, Nr. 292, 532, Nr. 317.
[194] Birley 1987, 193, Motschmann 2002, 207–214.

the emperor addressing them (LXXI.32.1). This they were awarded later, probably on 1 January, when he became consul together with Commodus, even sharing his tribunician power with him (*vita Marci* 27.2).[195] He did not return until the end of November of the following year. On the very day of return, Commodus received his first imperial acclamation (*vita Comm.* 2.4, 12.4, which is probably why his *dies imperii* became 27 November),[196] then he held his triumph on 23 December, 176, together with his son (he ran next to the *quadriga* carrying Commodus for a while) (*vita Marci* 16.2, 17.3, 27.4, *vita Comm.* 12.5, Aur. Vict. 16.13, Eutr. VIII.13), with whom he held the triumph over the Germans and Sarmatians (cf. the DE GERM and the DE SARM reverses of his coins: RIC III (1930) 337–342, 362–365, 1162, 1179–1191, 1221).[197] A medallion from 177 also depicts the triumph, portraying the figures of the two emperors on the quadriga.[198] The most important memory of the triumph was the triumphal arch that used to stand on the *clivus Argentarius*. It was still known in the Middle Ages, but has now vanished (Mirabilia 3, Nr. 11); its inscription was noted by Anonymus Einsiedlensis (CIL VI 1014+p. 842, 3070, 3777, 4316, 4340 = 31225 = ILS 374), and three relief panels in the Museo dei Conservatori were probably part of this monument (Clementia, the scenes of the triumph, and the offering of sacrifice), and maybe a fragment in Copenhagen (probably depicting Marcus Aurelius).[199] According to the inscription of CIL VI 1014, the triumph of the emperors, Marcus and Commodus was justified by defeating rather combative peoples (*quod omnes omnes omium ante se maximorum imperatorum glorias supergressus bellicosissimis gentibus deletis et subactis*), and that meant a greater victory than any other previous emperor. Among these panels the most important is the one that shows the triumph. Following detailed examination, M. Wegner showed for the first time in the 1930s that originally Commodus was also standing on the quadriga next to Marcus, but later, following his *damnatio memoriae*, they chiselled him off.[200]

[195] Birley 1987, 197.
[196] Kienast 1996, 147.
[197] Birley 1987, 197, Kienast 1996, 138, 147, Hekster 2002, 38.
[198] Gnecchi 1912, T. 63/1.
[199] Platner-Ashby 1928, 35, Ryberg 1967, 5–8, 9–27, Koeppel 1986, 9–12, 47–56, Nr. 23–25, 75–76, Nr. 34.
[200] M. Wegner, Bemerkungen zu den Ehrendenkmälern des Marcus Aurelius: Datierung römischer Haartrachten. JDAI 53, 1938, 155–195, Becati 1960, 55–72, Ryberg

The emperor's visit to the East had an important outcome from the point of view of Pannonia. Based on a recently unearthed inscription found at Leányfalu (Hungary), two new Syrian *cohortes* were established in A.D. 175; they were probably ordered to the eastern Pannonian *limes* section the following year. These were the *cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana Surorum sag. eq.*, stationed in Ulcisia Castra, and the *cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum sag. eq.*, based in Intercisa. The inscription was erected by the reorganised *cohors I milliaria Aurelia Antoniniana nova Severiana* for Septimius Severus and his son. At the end of the text the following can be read: *const(ituta) Pisone et Iul(iano) co(n)s(ulibus)*, which means it was erected in 175 (RIU 840).[201] Based on this, a similar date can be suggested for the establishment of the *cohors* of Hemesa.[202] Besides these, a *cohors Hemesenorum quingenaria* also existed, but it is only known from three recently published military diplomas from 192/193.[203] The garrison of the unit is unknown, but it was also stationed somewhere in Pannonia Inferior.[204] The reasons for the redirection of the Syrian archer units to Pannonia is obvious; there was a need for auxiliary troops suitable for Sarmatian military tactics and the Syrians met that need.[205] This is when another eastern unit, *the cohors Canathenorum et Trachonitarum*, was brought to Upper Pannonia as well (Ad Flexum) (CIL III 3668 = ILS 4349).[206]

1967, 2–3, 15–20, E. Gordon, The panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. Diss. New York, Ann Arbor 1979.

[201] S. Soproni, Die Caesarwürde Caracallas und die syrische Kohorte von Szentendre. Alba Regia 18, 1980, 39–51, Lőrincz 2001, 42, Nr. 42, 92, 285, Nr. 432.

[202] Lőrincz 2001, 35, Nr. 23.

[203] CIL XVI 132, B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. Mainz 2004, 126–131, Nr. 44, D. MacDonald – A. Pangerl, A new diploma of Pannonia Inferior from 192 A.D. Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 33, 2003, 259–270.

[204] The Roman army in Pannonia. An archaeological guide of the Ripa Pannonica. Ed. Zs. Visy. Budapest 2004, 29–30.

[205] Mócsy 1962, 652, Mócsy 1974, 194–195, Soproni S., Szentendre a rómaiak korában. Szentendre 1987, 19–20.

[206] Lőrincz 2001, 33, Nr. 18.

The history of the second Marcomannic war (A.D. 178–180)

The Danubian provinces were not entirely peaceful despite the triumph held in the absence of the emperor at the end of 176.[207] During the year 177 the Quintilii remained in charge and they were successful militarily, as is attested by imperial acclamations from around the middle of the year 177 (Marcus VIIII, Commodus II). Commodus received his *augustus* title about the same time;[208] it appeared on the coin releases of the two emperors in October, 177 (emission 35).[209]

Even if it does not provide the precise details, the *vita Marci* lists the peoples participating in the war exactly: 27.10. *triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis, Herm<u>nduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit*.[210] Due to the deterioration of the military situation, the presence of Marcus and Commodus was urgently required by early 178, when the two governors could not deal with the problem (Dio LXXI.33.1. οἱ γὰρ Κυιντίλιοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, καίπερ δύο τε ὄντες καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἐμπειρίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντες, τὸν πόλεμον παῦσαι). The best demonstration of this is that the two emperors, from March, 178 (CIL XVI 128), did not bear the *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus* titles.[211] However, there is only archaeological evidence for the attacks on Pannonia. Important information was discovered in the recent excavations of the auxiliary fort of Intercisa and Celamantia, where destruction layers dated by coins date the devastation to 178/179 (Intercisa: Coin dated to 175 from the *retentura* destruction layer, Izsa: coin finds from between 175–179 and several late Antonine, Middle Gaulish or Rheinzabern Samian ware finds).[212] Unfortunately, the destruction horizons observed elsewhere

[207] We are even less certain about the exact chronology of events of the second war than the first: Marcus-Säule, 27–28, Alföldi 1942, 199–203, Nagy 1962, 45–47, Mócsy 1962, 560–561, Alföldy 1971, Mócsy 1974, 190–195, Böhme 1975, 206–211, Sasel Kos 1986, 252–254, 322–334, Birley 1987, 198–199, 205–210, 253–254, Régészeti kézikönyv, 41, Hekster 2002, 39–49.

[208] Kienast 1996, 139, 148–149.

[209] Szaivert 1986, 211–212.

[210] Schwendemann 1923, 192–196.

[211] Kneissl 1969, 107–108, 111, Régészeti kézikönyv, 41, Kienast 1996, 139, 149.

[212] B. Lőrincz – K. Szabó – Zs. Visy, Neue Forschungen im Auxiliarkastell von Intercisa. in: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. Stuttgart 1986, 362–368, 363, 367, J. Rajtár, Das Holz-Erde-Lager aus der Zeit der Markomannenkriege in Iža. in: Problemen der relativen und absoluten Chronologie ab Latènezeit bis zum Frühmittelalter. Kraków 1992, 149–170, C.-M. Hüssen-Rajtár, Zur Frage archäologischer Zeugnisse der Markomannenkriege in der Slowakei. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 217–232, 218, 222, Gabler 1994, 358.

(their number has increased to 33 in the Danubian provinces) do not make it possible to distinguish between the first and second war.[213] The only exception may be the pottery quarter in the area of the gas factory site at Aquincum E of the *municipium*. According to T. Nagy, this part of the site did not survive the year 178, because the scenes on the two honey-cake moulds, both depicting Marcus' triumph in 176, are patterns that can be connected with the latest historical event.[214] A coin hoard from Savaria, based on the dating of the latest coins to A.D. 175, is also related to the devastation of the second war (the latest coin is 177).[215] The number of coin hoards is not even close to the number that can be connected to the first war.[216]

Besides the marriage of Commodus, the sources, record three different events from the period before Commodus and Marcus departed for war. According to Aurelius Victor, a group of philosophers attempted to convince the emperor not to leave:

> De Caes. 16.9–10. *tantumque Marco sapientiae lenitudinis innocentiae ac litterarum fuisse, ut is Marcomannos cum filio Commodo, quem Caesarem suffecerat, petiturus philosophorum turba obtestantium circumfunderetur, ne expeditioni aut pugnae se prius committeret, quam sectarum ardua ac perocculta explanavisset. 10 Ita †incerta belli in eius salute doctrinae studiis metuebantur; tantumque illo imperante floruere artes bonae, ut illam gloriam etiam temporum putem.*[217]

The *vita Marci* reports Marcus' promise that he would not have any senators killed:

> 29.4. *priusquam ad bellum Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum senatorem se sciente occisum, cum etiam rebelliones dixerit se sevaturum fuisse, si scisset.*

At the same time, Cassius Dio notes that (at the shrine of Bellona) Marcus, as a Fetialis, priest threw the bloody spear in the direction of the enemy before their departure so that he could start a *bellum iustum ac pium*:

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[213] Cf. Gabler 1994.

[214] A. Alföldi, Tonmodel und Reliefmedaillons aus den Donauländern. In: Laureae Aquincenses I. DissPann II/10. Budapest 1938, 329, Nr. 13–14, Nagy 1962, 45, 97, j. 170.

[215] Bíróné Sey K., A szombathelyi koracsászárkori éremlelet—Ein Denarfund aus der frühen Kaiserzeit in Szombathely. FolArch 12, 1960, 75–89, Kőhegyi M., Megjegyzések és pótlás két szombathelyi II. század végi denárlelethez. Savaria 4, 1966–1970, 97–105.

[216] Cf. Noll 1954, 56–61, Böhme 1975, 174–175, Farkas 2000.

[217] Birley 1987, 206.

LXXI.33.3. καὶ τὸ δόρυ τὸ αἱματῶδες παρὰ τῷ Ἐνυείῳ ἐς τὸ πολέμιον δὴ χωρίον, ὥς γε καὶ τῶν συγγενομένων αὐτῷ ἤκουσα, ἀκοντίσας ἐξωρμήθη.[218]

According to the *vita Commodi*, Commodus also accompanied his father (2.4. *profectus es<t> cum patre et ad Germanicum bellum*) and the biography records the exact date of their departure: 3 August, 178. 12.7. *iterum profectus III. non. Commodias Orfito et Rufo consulibus*.[219]

There is hardly any data concerning the course of the war; the *vita Marci* provides no information and the excerpt of Cassius Dio only mentions the victory of the troops led by Tarruttienus Paternus, the praetorian prefect.[220] He does not even specify the name of the enemy (they could have been either the Quadi or the Marcomanni) (Dio LXXI.33.4[1] = Xiph. 267,1–4);[221] this victory was followed in 178 by Marcus' tenth (and last) and Commodus' third imperial acclamation.[222] In spite of earlier theories, the acclamation appeared in the coin emissions of the two emperors as early as March, 178 (emission 38).[223] The data of the *Excerpta Ursiniana* relating to the visits of envoys offers some assistance. The Sarmatians, as the destruction of the fort of Intercisa shows, were among the enemies at this time, but following the Marcus' return they soon requested peace, together with the Buri, which was granted with light conditions. They set out against Rome more because they feared a Marcomann-Quadian alliance and they were ready to enter into an alliance only after they received assurances of protection against them:

Dio LXXI.18 = Exc. U[G] 63 (p. 410) οὔτε οὗτοι (sc. Iazyges) οὔτε οἱ Βοῦροι συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησαν, πρὶν πίστεις παρὰ Μάρκου λαβεῖν ἦ μὴν μέχρι παντὸς τῷ πολέμῳ χρήσεσθαι· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ καταλλαγεὶς τοῖς Κουάδοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσοίκους σφίσι πολεμίους ὑπολείπηται.[224]

From this it is also apparent that the Marcomanni and Quadi were again the main perpetrators of the fights. Many Hungarian researchers

[218] Motschmann 2002, 193–204, Kovács P., Adatok a hasta mint hatalmi jelvény használatához. AntTan 47, 2003, 262.
[219] Halfmann 1986, 213.
[220] Cf. CIL VI 41273–41274 (with full literature).
[221] Birley 1987, 207–208.
[222] Kienast 1996, 139, 149.
[223] Szaivert 1986, 213.
[224] Stahl 1989, 305.

are of the opinion[225] that the Roman troops led by Bassaeus Rufus, the old praetorian prefect who had held this position since 169, had already solved most of the Sarmatian question (although the situation had deteriorated a great deal after March, 178) even before the arrival of the emperors. It is hard to find a connection here with the IXth imperial acclamation as they did not yet feel it necessary to give up the *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus* titles in 177; moreover, Marcus felt his departure was necessary because of the incompetence of the Quintilii brothers.[226] The Sarmatian question, however, could only have been solved following the arrival of the emperors, as otherwise the CIL X 408 = ILS 1117 inscription would not have used the formula *comes Impp(eratorum) [A]nt[onini et Commodi Augg(ustorum)] ex[pe]ditioni[s] Sarmaticae.* The theory that Bassaeus Rufus resigned from his duties before the second war is incorrect or at least has not been verified. Based on the *tabula Banasitana*, he was still in office in 177 (AÉp 1971, 534), moreover, according to his inscription, he even saw Commodus receive the *Augustus* title while in office in the middle of 177.[227] It is also true, however, that it has not been proven that he died during the battles against the Sarmatians,[228] as statues could have been erected during his lifetime as well.[229] It is a fact, however, that from 179 Tarrut(t)ienus Paternus led the troops. According to an inscription erected to the praetorian prefect (CIL VI 1599 = 31828 = 41141 = ILS 1326), the two emperors decorated him in the second war:

> *[c]onsularibus ornamentis honoratus [e]t ob victoriam Germanicam et Sarmatic(am) [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg(ustorum) corona [m]urali vallari aurea hastis puris IIII [to]tidemque vexillis obsidionalibus [ab iisdem] donatus.*

It is hardly possible that the expression *victoria Germanica et Sarmatic(a) [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg(ustorum)* refers to the first war.[230] The extremely rare expression (apart from this it only occurs once) *vexilla obsidionalia* cannot refer to defensive Roman military tactics.[231] The situation is similar on the inscription of the statue base of the consul Vitrasius

[225] PIR² B 69, Alföldi 1942, 199, j. 291, Nagy 1962, 46, Régészeti kézikönyv, 41.
[226] Régészeti kézikönyv, 295, j. 102.
[227] Birley 1987, 197, 204, 207.
[228] Alföldi 1942, 199, j. 291.
[229] V. A. Maxfield, The military decorations of the Roman army. London 1981, 108–109, G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 pp. 4951–4952 (with full literature).
[230] G. Alföldy, CIL VI 8,3 pp. 4951–4952.
[231] V. A. Maxfield, The military decorations of the Roman army. London 1981, 84.

Pollio (CIL VI 1540 = 41145 = ILS 1112) from the year 176, according to which he participated as comes Augg in the *expeditio Germanica Sarmatica*.[232]

As a result of the German victory, a large number of peoples besides the Sarmatians joined the Romans—now permanently; there is detailed information on the negotiations (Dio LXXI.19 = Exc. U[G] 64 [p. 411]). Marcus did not handle the individual tribes equally; some of them received citizenship, some tax or duty exemption, and some received permanent aid (LXXI.19.1. ἢ πολιτείαν ἢ ἀτέλειαν ἢ αἴδιον ἢ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον τινὰ ἄνεσιν τοῦ φόρου λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχειν). It would be quite right to suppose that the *cives Cotini* known from Rome (CIL VI 2833+2389+2835 = 32542, 2800+2832+3419 = 32544, 2831+2852 = 32557) received their citizenship at this time and the right to settle anywhere in the empire, on the *territorium* of Cibalae and Mursa, and not only the usual citizenship accorded to tribal leaders.[233] Marcus believed it to be of primary importance to settle with the Sarmatians, therefore he was ready to make significant sacrifices except for the right of assembly and commerce (LXXI.19.2):

1. The lifting of the ban on the riverbank zone (he only forbade them shipping on the Danube and accessing the Danubian islands).
2. Freedom to travel across Dacia towards related Roxolans (with the supervision of the Dacian *legatus*).
3. The lifting of other restraints.[234]

Following the peace agreements the Roman troops could concentrate all their powers on the Quadi and the Marcomanni. Significant troops, 20 000 men, were stationed in each tribal area, spending the winter of 179–180 there (in winter camps were equipped with baths and other comfort facilities: cf. Dio LXXI.20.1. ταλαιπωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀφθόνως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια). Mušov, which has become known as a result of recent excavations, was, without doubt, such a stronghold.[235] With the aid of aerial photography a number of

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[232] Halfmann 1986, 213, 215–216.

[233] Stahl 1989, 314, Anm. 88.

[234] Stahl 1989, 305, Nr. 12, Anm. 70.

[235] TIR Castra Regina, Vindobona, Carnuntum. Praha 1986, 62–63, J. Tejral, Die Probleme der römisch-germanischen Beziehungen unter Berücksichtigung der neuen Forschungsergebnisse im niederösterreichisch-südmährischen Thayaflußgebiet. BRGK 73, 1992, 377–468, id., Die archäologischen Zeugnisse der Markomannenkriege in

new Moravian-northern Austrian temporary forts have been discovered (more than 34 are now known, compared to 21 sites known earlier), primarily along the Thaya (Mušov [II–VI], Ivaň, Přibice, Břeclav-Poštorna, Šakvice, Charvátská Nová Ves, Modřice, Engelhartstetten, Plank am Kamp, Kollnbrun, Bernhardstahl). Most of these seem to be related to the period of the Marcomannic wars, although their exact dating is still to be verified.[236] Based on stamped tiles, the stone buildings made of stone with perimeter walls in the Barbaricum, similar to simple provincial *villae rusticae*, are without doubt related to the army,[237] but their function is as yet unknown (German tribal residences and Roman commercial stations are both possibilities), but a large number of them have been identified in the Austrian and Slovakian areas of the Barbaricum: Stillfried, Niederleis, Oberleis, Pozsonyhidegkút (Bratislava-Dúbravka), Cífer-Pác, Stomfa, Nyitrakér (Milanovce).[238] The

Mähren. Probleme der Chronologie und historischen Interpretation. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 299–324, id., New aspects of the Roman-Germanic confrontation on the Middle Danube until the Marcomannic wars. in: Roman Frontier Studies XVII/1997. Zalău 1999, 829–851, 832–837, J. Bouzek – J. Musil – J. Tejral, The fortification of the Roman military station at Mušov near Mikulov. Archaeologia 45, 1994, 57–68, M. Bálek – J. Šedo, Neuere Forschungsergebnisse in Mušov (Rettungsgrabungen beim Bau der Autobahn Mikulov-Brno, Juli–November 1993. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursachen und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 166–172, Komoróczy 2005.

[236] Gnirs 1976, 80–100, 101–115, M. Kandler – H. Vetters (Hrsg.), Der römische Limes in Österreich. Ein Führer. Wien 1986, 234–247, M. Bálek – E. Droberjar – J. Šedo, Die römischen Feldlager in Mähren. PamArch 85, 1994, 59–, J. Rajtár, Die Legionen Mark Aurels im Vormarch. in: Aus der Luft—Bilder unserer Geschichte. Luftbildarchäolgie in Zentraleuropa—Történelmünk képei madártávlatból. A légirégészet Közép-Európában. Dresden 1997, 58–67, 65–66, id., Nuove testimonianze archaeologiche delle guerre dei Marcomanni a nord del medio Danubio. in: Roma sul Danubio. Da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra. Ed. M. Buora – W. Jobst. Roma 2002, 99–120, J. Musil, Römische Wehranlagen und Baumaterial nördlich der mittleren Donau. in: Gentes, reges und Rom. Auseinandersetzung, Anerkennung, Anpassung. Festschrift für Jaroslav Tejral zum 65. Geburtstag. Brno 2000, 87–94, 88, B. Komoróczy, Das römische temporäre Lager in Modřice. in: Zwischen Rom und Barbaricum. Festschrift für Titus Kolnik zum 70. Geburtstag. Nitra 2002, 129–142, Komoróczy 2005.

[237] Lőrincz B., A barbaricumi római épületek bélyeges téglái—Ziegelstempel römischer Gebäude im Barbaricum. ArchÉrt 100, 1973, 59–65, id., Zu den Verbindungen zwischen Pannonien und Barbaricum. Die Verbreitung und Datierung der Ziegelstempel. Klio 71, 1989, 96–106.

[238] M. Kandler – H. Vetters (Hrsg.), Der römische Limes in Österreich. Ein Führer. Wien 1986, 238–244, Mócsy 1962, 643–644, Mócsy 1974, 89–91, Böhme 1975, 190–197, Régészeti kézikönyv, 107–108, T. Kolnik, Römische Stationen im slowakischen Abschnitt des nordpannonischen Limesvorlandes. ArchRoz 38, 1986, 411–434, 467–472, id., Zum Anteil der Militäreinheiten beim Aufbau der sogenannten römischen Stationen im mitteldanubischen Barbaricum. in: Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Oxford 1997,

relationship of building complexes (Stomfa, Nyitrakér) dated from the 2nd to the 4th century with the Marcomannic wars has not yet been established.[239]

As it happens, the career of M. Valerius Maximianus again coincided with this event. He had become a member of the senatorial order, but his military experience was needed again—he first became the *legatus* of *legio I*, then of *II adiutrix*. As *praepositus* he led an 855-strong vexillation composed of the members of the *legio* and spent the winter with them in Laugaricio, today's Trencsény (Trenčín) (AÉp 1956, 124: *praep(ositus) vexil(lationum) Leugaricione hiemantium*).[240] These events were recorded in his inscription in Zana, and his inscription, erected with his vexillation to the Victoria Augg., has also survived carved into the rock under the castle of Trencsény (about 120 km from the Danube) (CIL III 13439 = ILS 9122 = IPSS 2). The garrison of Trencsény may be in connected with a temporary fort identified recently at Nyitranagykér on aerial photographs.[241] The *vexil(latio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) aput Marcomannos*, under the command (*praepositus*) of Ti. Plautius Ferruntianus, refers to the same event (CIL VIII 619 = 11780 = ILS 2747).[242] This vexillation participated in battles against the Sarmatians (cf. AÉp 1964, 10),[243] then later its members were transferred to *legio II adiutrix* (cf. CIL III 10419 = ILS 2318, VIII 16553+p. 2731).[244] It is no surprise that neither of the German tribes was glad of their subordinate status; due to the constant warring they could not cultivate their lands or pasture their animals. The Quadi would have liked to emigrate to their relatives, the Semnones, but Marcus had the mountain passes closed and, this

417–423, id., Nordpannonische Limesvorland-Forschung 1984–1996. in: In: Roman Frontier Studies XVII/1997. Zalău 1999, 131–137.

[239] Despite intensive Hungarian archeological research no Roman military camps have been identified in Sarmatian Barbaricum. Research on a possible fort at Túrkeve did not meet expectations: B. Erdélyi, Castra in Sarmatia. A roman military fort in the Great Hungarian Plain? ArchCl 33, 1984, 345–350, B. Erdélyi – Á. M. Pattantyús, Prospecting of a Roman castrum in Sarmatia from discovery to excavation. in: Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäolgie. Berlin 1988. Mainz 1990, 619–625.

[240] Alföldy 1974, 338, Saxer 1967, 37–40, Nr. 68–69.

[241] E. Hanzelyová – I. Kuzma – J. Rajtár, Letecká prospekcia v archeológii na Slovensku. ArchRoz 48, 1996, 202.

[242] Saxer 1967, 42–43, Nr. 74.

[243] Borzsák E., A legio III Augusta újabb felirata Pannoniában—A recently discovered inscription of the legio III Augusta in Pannonia. ArchÉrt 90, 1963, 81–83.

[244] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1449–1450, 1500, G. Di Vita-Evrard, Légionnaries africains en Pannonie au IIe s. ap. J. C. in: La Pannonia e l'impero romano. Milano 1995, 97–114, 99–102, 111–113, Nr. 6–13.

attempt failed (LXXI.20.2) (see below). Marcus, despite the repeated visits of envoys, was not willing to make peace with the two German tribes (the settlement of the 3000 Naristae probably took place during his lifetime [Dio LXXI.21 = Exc. U^{G} 66 (p. 412);][245] he was preparing for another campaign during the spring of 180, but he fell sick before departure and died on 17 March, 180 (*vita Marci* 28, Dio LXXI.34, Her. I.3–4, Tertull. Apol. XXV.5).[246]

Herodian does not specify the place of Marcus' death and other ancient sources give different Pannonian towns; thus, the question is still controversial. While according to Tertullian, who was relatively close in time (and who specified the date of death exactly) he died in Sirmium (Apol. XXV.5), late ancient sources indicate Vindobona (Aur. Vict. 16.4, Epit. De Caes. 16.12), others simply Pannonia (Her. I.3.1, Hier. Chron. 208d (Helm), Cassiod. Chron. p. 147 (179 A.D.), Prosper Tiro 706 (176 A.D.), Chron. Pasch. p. 489 = PG 92, 639, Chron. a. 354 = Chron. Min. I. p. 147, Jord. Rom. 272, Ioan. Mal. Chron. 272).[247] The place in Pannonia might have been Sirmium, where the appropriate imperial palace was available, but one cannot exclude Vindobona. It would have been rather problematic to conduct the campaign from Sirmium and the troops would surely have required the personal presence of Marcus. It is still possible, however, that the winter residence of the emperor was in Sirmium, and the date of the spring campaign was not too distant. The expression *apud Sirmium* used by Tertullian gives no reason to think of Malata (Bánmonostor; its late Roman name: Bononia), the nearest fort to Sirmium (approximately 30 km away),[248] as was Bannert's opinion, because for authors of the imperial period the preposition *apud* could, without further ado, mean *in*.[249] A misunderstanding of the Vindobona-Bononia names likewise is not possible, because the name of the fort would only have changed from Malata to Bononia during the tetrarchy (cf. Cons. Const. a. 294 = Chron. Min. I. p. 230 and CIL III 3700–3703, from the age of Claudius II), Tab.

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245 Stahl 1989, 305, Nr. 14.

246 Birley 1987, 209–210.

247 Bannert 1977, Birley 1987, 209–210.

248 TIR L-34. Budapest 1968, 76–77, Kovács 1999, 48–50. It is doubtful if the place of death of the popular emperor, Marcus Aurelius, would ever have been renamed Bononia!

249 Ch. T. Lewis – Ch. Short, A Latin dictionary. Oxford 1877, 147, Bannert 1977, 465, Anm. 40, Alföldy 1989, 458–460.

Peut. VI.3—It. Ant. 243.1, Not. Dig. occ. XXXII. 14, 33, 41, 44).[250] According to the Chronographer of the year 354 (Chron. Min. I. p. 147), the emperor e*xcessit in Pannonia superiore*. This data, because it is an earlier and independent source (from the breviaria), is a piece of evidence for Vindobona in Upper Pannonia.

Marcus Aurelius had a special connection involuntarily with the Danubian provinces, especially with Pannonia. It is not only that he had to spend the last years of his life there, but according to the data at the end of his books, the *Meditations* 1 and 2, these works were written in Carnutum (II.17. Τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ), and in the land of the Quadi near Pannonia, probably by the Garam River (I.17. Τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανούᾳ). Even in his work summarising his philosophical thoughts he ponders one of his most vicious enemies, the Sarmatians (X.10), the destruction of the war, the sight of cut down people (VIII.34).[251] One of the best examples of the strong relationship between the province and the emperor is the bronze statue of Marcus discovered in the area of the auxiliary fort of Lugio (Dunaszekcső), one of the most elaborate depictions of the emperor ever found.[252] Probably the most characteristic epigraphic records of the destruction of the Marcomannic wars are grave inscriptions, mainly from Savaria, dated to the second half of the 2nd century (CIL III 4224, RIU 49, 54, 55, 57, 61, 62, 64–67, 89–91, 93, 116, 126, S 28). Similar ones are known elsewhere, e.g., from Bátmonostor, where the age of the deceased was left blank, then due to the death of the relatives the engraving could not be completed.[253]

The rule of Commodus and the end of the war (A.D. 180–182)

After the death of his father the question of succession was not debatable: the imperial council soon introduced Commodus to the Pannonian troops and the situation was accepted by all (Her. I.5). Primarily due

[250] For the name change: A. Mócsy, Későrómai helynévváltoztatások a Duna-vidéken. AntTan 12, 1965, 103–105 = id., Umgetaufte Ortschaften in Pannonien. Arheološki Vestnik 19, 1968, 75–77.

[251] Birley 1987, 211–223.

[252] V. Kováts, Mark Aurel Porträt aus Lugio. Alba Regia 21, 1984, 89–91, Bronze e tor. Visages de Marc Aurèle. Empereur, capitane, moraliste. Genève 1996, 127–140.

[253] A. Mócsy, A markomann háborúk savariai pusztításai—Die Verwüstüngen der Markomannenkriege in Savaria. AchÉrt 90, 1963, 17–20, P. Kovács, Some notes on the building inscription of C(aius) Titius Antonius Peculiaris from Bátmonostor (CIL III 10496 = 6452). In: Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis. Cluj-Napoca 2004, 86.

to Herodian's description (I.6) and based on the *vita Commodi* 3.5, a mistaken, biased picture of the young Commodus was created. In this view he made an unnecessary peace in a short time with the two hostile German tribes as he would no longer listen to his father's advisors and he wished to return to his comfortable palace in Rome. One can calculate the start of the defensive policy of the Romans against the Germans from this date.[254] The accusation of immediate return, however, appears explicitly in the *vita Marci*, where, on his death bed, Marcus pleads with his son to continue with the war and eventually allows him to leave the fort shortly after his death:

> 28.1–2. *cum aegrotare coepisset, filium advocavit atque ab eo primum petit, ut <b>elli reliquias non contempneret, ne videretur rem p. prodere. et, cum filius ei respondisse<t> cupere se primum sanitatem, ut vellet, permisit, petens tamen, ut expectasset paucos dies, <h>aut simul proficisceretur.*[255]

The major accusation is probably the best formulated in Epit. De Caes. 17.2, describing the same scene: *Nam cum in supremis moneretur a parente attritos iam barbaros ne permitteret vires recipere*, namely, his father warns him to exploit the results of the war that has already been won. Commodus' reply, however, is also characteristic and important; *responderat ab incolumi quamvis paulatim negotia perfici posse, a mortuo nihil*, the latter expression (*paulatim negotia perficere*) could even be the key to his politics at that time.[256] The facts, however, are not so simple: Commodus really did dismiss his father's advisors[257] or he disregarded their advice (Her. I.6.1, Dio LXXII.1.2, vita Comm. 3.1). This happened somewhere else and much later in time. According to Herodian (he mentions it twice) he had been listening to the advisors for quite a while: I.6.1. ὀλίγου μὲν οὖν τινὸς χρόνου πάντα ἐπράττετο τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν πατρῴων φίλων. I.8.1. χρόνου μὲν οὖν τινὸς ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τιμὴν πᾶσαν ἀπένεμε τοῖς πατρῴοις φίλοις. Commodus really made peace with the Marcomanni and the Quadi and he issued medals as sole ruler (CIL VIII 17900 = ILS 1436 = AÉp 1969–1970, 704: C. Annius Flavianus, CIL V 2112, VI 1502 = ILS 1124, 1503: L. Ragonius Urinatius Larcius Quintianus,[258] M. Rossius Vitulus.[259] AÉp 1911, 7+1914, 248 = ILS 9015 = ILAfr

[254] Grosso 1964, 95–102, 457–467, Alföldy 1971, 389–391.
[255] Schwendemann 1923, 114–115, Birley 1987, 209.
[256] Alföldy 1971, 408.
[257] Grosso 1964, 106–113.
[258] Leunissen 1989, 61–62, Fitz 1993, 624, Nr. 350.
[259] Devijver 1976, 706–707, Nr. 11, Fitz 1993, 846–847, Nr. 517.

455, AÉp 1956, 124: M. Valerius Maximianus).[260] He only returned to Rome after this, but half year later. His arrival (and maybe his triumph) only took place on 22 October, 180 (vita Comm. 3.5–6, 12.7, Her. I.7, CIL XIV 2922 = ILS 1420 (*curator triumphi felicissimi Germanici secundi*), Hier. Chron. 208f. *Commodus de Germanis triumphavit.* Jord. Rom. 273. *Commodus... magnumque triumphum de gente revexit Germanica*.).[261] In spite of negative views, Commodus continued the war and only made peace after achieving new results. Ancient sources also report this fact: Aurelius Victor 17.2. *Bello plane impiger quo in Quados prospere gesto Septembrem mensem Commodum appellaverat*, namely, the battles still continued in September 180. Both Eutropius (VIII.15) and Jerome (Chron. 208k [Helm] a. 184) follow Aurelius Victor's example concerning this, but his data is obviously mistaken as it was in August that the emperor named Commodus: cf. v. Comm. 11.8, Dio LXXII.15.3.[262] About the renaming of the month, see more in *vita Comm.* 11.8, Eutropius VIII.15. *Huius successor L. Antoninus Commodus nihil paternum habuit, nisi quod contra Germanos feliciter et ipse pugnavit.* Commodus' IVth imperial acclamation fell between March and September, 180.[263] While examining the coin emissions, Szaivert estimated this to be April of 180 (emission 40),[264] Orosius 7.16.2, *Adversus Germanos bellum feliciter gessit.* Based on this data it can be concluded that Commodus carried on with the original plan according to the advice of the *amici*, he concluded a successful campaign against both the Marcomanni and the Quadi, and peace only followed after this.[265]

Luckily, plentiful resources prove this (Dio LXXII.1.2; 2; 3, Her. I.6.8–9, vita Comm. 3.5). Dio's excerpts describe the conditions of the peace: LXXII.2 = Exc. U^{G} 67 (p. 412).

1. The war ruined the Marcomanni (and the Quadi, who are not mentioned here) both in terms of human lives and economically.
2. Commodus, wishing to return home, still makes peace with them thus:

[260] Grosso 1964, 467, Hekster 2002, 46.
[261] Speidel 2000, Hekster 2002, 47.
[262] Grosso 1964, 66–67, 75, 460–461.
[263] Kienast 1996, 149.
[264] Szaivert 1986, 214.
[265] Alföldi 1942, 201–203, Nagy 1962, 46, Mócsy 1962, 561, Kerler 1970, 82–85, Alföldy 1971b, 84–129 = Alföldy 1989, 25–68, Régészeti kézikönyv, 41, Zimmermann 1999, 44–62, Hekster 2002, 40–49, Saldern 2003, 36–40.

a. re-establishing the old peace agreement with the conditions set by his father;
b. requiring the handover of prisoners and deserters;
c. requiring provision of crops (later rescinded).[266]
d. requiring the surrender of weapons;
e. requiring auxiliary troops: Quadi: 13 000 men, Marcomanni: less (in return there is no annual conscription);
f. restricting their right of assembly to once a month, at one place, and only under the supervision of a Roman centurion;[267]
g. not allowing them to wage war on others (Iazyges, Buri, Vandals);
h. in return, the Roman army abandons its military garrisons in the Barbaricum (but only beyond the neutral border zone).[268]

In contradiction to these concrete data, later sources report on much more humiliating conditions which do not include the tendencies of the tradition attempting to describe Commodus as an (at least partially) negative character.[269] Herodian reported that the war was finished partly (and mostly) through weapons the commanders had left behind and partly by paying off the barbarians:

> I.6.8. οἳ μὲν οὖν διῴκουν τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα· οἳ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων ὅπλοις ἐχειρώσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ μεγάλαις συντάξεσιν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπηγάγοντο ῥᾳστα πείσαντες.

According to Herodian (I.6.9.), the emperor spent an extreme amount on this: ἅπερ (namely, the greed of the barbarians) ὁ Κόμοδος εἰδὼς καὶ τὸ ἀμέριμνον ὠνούμενος ἀφειδῶς τε ἔχων χρημάτων, πάντα ἐδίδου τὰ αἰτούμενα. The same information appears in the *vita Commodi*: 3.5. *bellum etiam, quod pater paene confecerat, legibus hostium addictus remisit ac Romam reversus est*. It is strange but true that there is not even a line about these events in Dio's excerpts, although he mentions the provision of crops by the Marcomanni (later rescinded). It seems possible that Herodian refers to his own age (the 240s) (especially based on I.6.9:

[266] Stahl 1989, 310, Anm. 79.
[267] Perhaps M. Rossius Vitulus was such a supervisor (AÉp 1911, 7+1914, 248 = ILS 9015 = ILAfr 455), who, as a *tribunus* of *legio II adiutrix*, participated in the war as *praepositus gentis Onsorum* and was decorated as such. Naturally I cannot exclude reception, but I cannot see the connection between the place-name Osones (It. Ant. 263, 7) and Osi as confirmed; therefore their settlement is also uncertain: P. Anreiter, Die vorrömischen Namen Pannoniens. Budapest 2001, 98, TIR L-34. Budapest 1968, 86, Graf 1936, 30, 127.
[268] Stahl 1989, 306, Nr. 14.
[269] Hekster 2002, 4–8, 184–185.

φύσει γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον φιλοχρήματον, καὶ κινδύνων καταφρονήσαντες ἢ δι' ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἐφόδου τὸ χρειῶδες πρὸς τὸν βίον πορίζονται, ἢ μεγάλων μισθῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἀντικαταλλάσσονται).[270]

Actually, at this point one could close the debate if there was no other surviving data from Dio in relation to the accession of Pertinax. Laetus, the praetorian prefect, summoned the barbarian envoys whom Commodus (already deceased) had provided with large sums, demanded the money be paid back, and required the announcement of the fact that the new emperor was Pertinax:

LXXIII.6.1. βαρβάρους γοῦν τινας χρυσίον παρ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ εἰληφότας μεταπεμψάμενος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν) ἀπῄτησεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι "λέγετε τοῖς οἴκοι Περτίνακα ἄρχειν".[271]

What is more, Marcus had also used donation as a tool, not even that long before (LXXI.19.1). It seems, therefore, that at least partially (in case of individual peoples only, according to Herodian), the accusations may be true and the donation of funds was always a tool for Roman diplomacy (cf. Tac. Germ. 42.2. *raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur*), but this passage refers to the end of Commodus' reign and not the beginning (see below).[272] The peace agreement with the Marcomanni was not unique because, for example, Canarta, the king of Baquatar, had also just recognized the protectorate of Rome in October, 180 (cf. AÉp 1953, 79).[273]

The question of whether Commodus had given up the expansionist intentions of his father, namely, the establishment of Marcomannia and Sarmatia provinces, by concluding the peace, has evoked fierce debates.[274] Not even the ancient sources agree on this question; the *vita*

270 Alföldy 1971, 406–413.

271 P. Oliva, Pannonia and the onset of crisis in the Roman empire. Praha 1962, 309–310, Alföldy 1971, 410.

272 Cf. H. Grassl, Sozialökonomische Vorstellungen in der kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Literatur (1–3. Jh. n. Chr.). Historia Einzelschriften 41, 1982, 38, Šašel Kos 1986, 326–328.

273 Hekster 2002, 46–47.

274 Alföldy 1971b, 418, Anm. 48. Schwendemann 1923, 195–196, Alföldi 1942, 200–201, F. Hampl, Kaiser Marc Aurel und die Völker jenseits der Donaugrenze. Eine quellenkritische Studie. in: Festschrift für R. Heuberger. Innsbruck 1960, 33–40, Nagy 1962, 46, Mócsy 1962, 561, Swoboda 1964, 55, 252, A. R. Birley, Roman frontier policy under Marcus Aurelius. in: Roman Frontier Studies 1967. Tel Aviv 1971, 7–12, Kerler 1970, 74–77, Mócsy 1971, Alföldy 1971b, Instinsky 1972, Mócsy 1974, 184–185, 193, Böhme 1975, 211, Birley 1979, 487–492, P. Oliva, Marcomannia Provincia? Studii Classice 24, 1986, 125–129, Birley 1987, 253–255, Alföldy 1989,

Marci 24.5, for example, dated these plans to before the rebellion of Avidius Cassius, which means they would have fallen through because of the rebellion itself. Dio's text is also unclear; according to LXXI.20: Marcus οὕτως οὐ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν (sc. quadok) προσκτήσασθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει, while concerning Marcus' death he writes: LXXI.33.4². καὶ εἴγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει, πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ ἂν ἐκεχείρωτο (the *vita Marci* 24.5 probably comes from here). In Herodian's version the young emperor says to his soldiers about the tasks awaiting him:

> I.5.6. ἡμῖν δὲ χρὴ μέλειν τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς διοικεῖν. κατορθοῦν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ βεβαιοῦν ὑμέτερον ἔργον, εἰ τά τε τοῦ πολέμου λείψανα μετὰ πάσης ἀνδρείας ἀπαλεψαιτε καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ προαγάγοιτε.

Pompeianus' advice to the young emperor wishing to be in Rome is:

> I.6.6. καλὸν δέ σοι χειρωσαμένῳ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ὠκεανῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρίσαντι ἐπανελθεῖν οἴκαδε θριαμβεύοντί τε καὶ δεσμίους ἀπάγοντι καὶ αἰχμαλώτους βασιλεῖς τε καὶ σατράπας βαρβάρους (cf. Her. VII.2.9 = vita Max. 12.1, 13.3 [concerning Maximinus Thrax]).

Examining the latter passage of Herodian and the above expression of Dio (καὶ εἴγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει) leads to the ominous sentence in the *vita Marci*: 27.10, *si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset.*[275] In the passage of the *vita Maximini* cited above stands (12.1) explicitly: *ut Herodianus dicit*, followed by the author of the biography! These days the researchers are divided into two groups. According to one theory, which can be attributed to Dettmer,[276] Rome could not afford financially to establish new "worthless" provinces (Hampl, Swoboda, G. Alföldy, Oliva). Most researchers remain on more traditional grounds and really do take the problem of establishing new provinces seriously (Schwendemann, Alföldi, Nagy, Mann, Birley, Fitz, and Mócsy). In my opinion one must consider three aspects when trying to form an opinion:

1. What do the sources say, first of all Cassius Dio, and what is the opinion of them in the source criticism?

63–64, 67–68, Régészeti kézikönyv, 38, Zimmermann 1999, 49–56, Hekster 2002, 40–42, Saldern 2003, 33–36.

275 Alföldy 1971, 405, Anm. 78.

276 H. Dettmer, Geschichte des markomannischen Krieges. Göttingen 1872, 217.

2. Do other sources show signs of a possible *annexio*?
3. If there were such signs, would these plans be realistic: a. economically; and b. would this have solved the question of safety for the provinces and Italy?

1. As already noted, the sources seem to be contradictory. Cassius Dio, who is most important here (especially his *excerptum*) is very clear as far as the Quadi are concerned: LXXI.20 = Exc. U^G 65 (p. 411). οὐ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει. The χειρόω verb of the other sentence from Dio in question (LXXI.33.42) should almost certainly be translated as "subjugate" (and not as "conquer"),[277] which is why there are no contradictions between the two loci. It is not necessary to detail Herodian's dependence on Cassius Dio and the embellishment of the original story; one can hardly take the idea of expansion to the Oceanus seriously.[278] The situation is even more interesting in the case of the *vita Marci*. The topic of the debate between Alföldy and Birley is essentially the question of whether the creation of the provinces quoted in two passages of the *vita Marci* was part of the original biography (whether the author was either Marius Maximus or the mysterious Ignotus),[279] or, as Alföldy believes, these passages only became part of the biography through the author of the HA via Herodian.[280] In spite of the fact that the *vita Marci* belongs to the line of the so-called "good biographies," many insertions can be found in it (for example, chapters 17.4–18 come from Eutropius).[281] It is also a fact that the idea of the similar passage of the *vita Maximini* (12.1), the idea of extending the empire, definitely comes from Herodian. A direct relationship can be demonstrated between the following sentences of Cassius Dio and the *vita Marci*: LXXI.33.4[2] καὶ εἴγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει and vita Marci 24.5: *si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset.*[282] The medallion with a reverse with the words

[277] H. G. Liddel – R. Scott, A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement. Oxford 1996, 1986, Alföldy 1971, 404, Anm. 74, Instinsky 1972, 482, Anm. 25, Zimmermann 1999, 52–54.
[278] F. Kolb, Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Cassius Dio, Herodian und der Historia Augusta. Bonn 1972, Alföldy 1989, passim, Kovács P., Heródianos és Pannonia. In: ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ. Tanulmányok Bollók János emlékére. Budapest. 2004, 447–448.
[279] Birley 1987, 229–230.
[280] Birley 1979, 486–489, Birley 1987, 253–254, Alföldy 1971, 404–406.
[281] Schwendemann 1923.
[282] Alföldy 1971, 405, Anm. 78.

PROPAGATORIBVS IMPERII picturing Marcus and Commodus does not help much either,[283] as the words can be translated in two different ways: 1. "for those who extended the empire"[284] or 2. "for those who enriched the empire."[285]

2. Dio LXXI.20 = Exc. U^G 65 (p. 411) is an important source from this point of view: Marcus does not allow the departure of the Quadi wishing to emigrate; during the winter of 179–180 he stations 20 000 soldiers each in the lands of the Quadi and the Marcomanni in comfortable winter camps (Dio LXXI.20.1. ταλαιπωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀφθόνως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια), but not in the land of the Sarmatians, as there is a valid peace agreement in place with them! Marcus, who had wished to exterminate or expel the Sarmatians in 175 (Dio LXXI.13.1, 16.2), had a valid peace treaty by that time with the Quadi and the Marcomanni. This is a contradiction that is almost impossible to solve. If the emperor really had intended to create two new provinces, why would he have made peace with one of the enemies first? Why would it be necessary to drive out or kill the enemy if he had concluded a peace treaty with the other enemy, or why did he not let the Quadi flee? If the occupying armies established military camps in one of the provinces-to-be, why would they not do the same in the other one as well? The two tactics were not applicable together, therefore, here one can probably observe the usual Roman foreign policy of dividing the enemy. I cannot see any signs of an *annexio*.

3. a. The general advice since Augustus, passed on to Tiberius and his successors is still valid, that the empire had grown too large and did not need to be enlarged any more: *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii* (Tac. Ann. I.11, cf. Liv. Praef. 4, Florus II.17, III.12, IV.12).[286] Even Augustus respected this advice when he consistently gave up the plan to conquer the whole of Brittannia (Dio XLIX.38.2, LIII.22.5, 25.2). The reason behind this was provided by the contemporary Strabo quite clearly: the area is absolutely worthless economically; the collectable taxes hardly covered the costs of troops stationed there, if at all (Geogr. II.5.8 [more income would be generated from customs] IV.5.3).

[283] D. H. Cox, Coins from the excavations at Curium 1932–1953. Numismatic notes and monographs of the American Numismatic Society. New York 1959, 114, No. 230.

[284] Birley 1979, 491–494, Birley 1987, 253–254.

[285] Alföldy 1971, 427–428, Alföldy 1989, 68.

[286] Mócsy 1963 = id., Plus est provinciam retinere quam facere. AntTan 9, 1962, 191–201.

Re-examining Appian's *Praefatio* of in this light, he details, probably following Strabo, the question of the province of Brittannia, which he thinks does not bring in the desired amount of profit (Praef. 5). Appian deals with the visiting envoys, whom he himself had seen at the court of Antoninus Pius (Praef. 7)

> ὅλως τε δι' εὐβουλίαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχοντες σώζειν ἐθέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἄπειρον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγώ τινας εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι καὶ οὐ δεξάμενον βασιλέα ἄνδρας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρησίμους ἐσομένους.

Consequently, more peoples would have liked to receive *receptio*, but their occupation would have brought such low income that the court did not feel it worthwhile; moreover, the emperor did not even grant an audience to the envoys! Based on all these facts, for Rome, which was ruined economically in the war and battling a declining population due to epidemics, the creation of new provinces was not an alternative. Instead of creating new provinces the emperor used the tool of reception—accepting significant numbers into the empire.

b. Neither would Rome's desired security have been solved by the creation of new provinces guarded by the Carpathians and the Tatra mountains. Even if there had been plans for this it became absolutely clear to everyone during the war that the annexation and reception of client-kingdoms neighbouring Rome would not solve the problem, as newer and even stronger peoples would have appeared behind them. Probably this is where the answers lie behind why Marcus did not allow the emigration of the Quadi.

In the light of all this, the problem can be summarised that there were unlikely to have been any realistic plans for creating new provinces, neither does the course of the war support such a conclusion. The war was barely supported by those managing the empire financially, but it is also not known what kind of opinions Marcus' high ranking generals held, a pro-war group could have existed among them. Their opinion was probably best reflected by Pompeianus (Her. I.6.4–7). The conflict between Marcus' old *amici* and the slaves freed by Commodus, described by Herodian, could also have played an important role in this question.[287] If the passages referring to the creation of new provinces really were parts of the original debate (24.5, 27.10), then one must

[287] Zimmermann 1999, 49–56, Saldern 2003, 41–44.

seriously consider that the views of these advisors must still have been known during the time of Severus.[288] If, however, Herodian's last two chapters were only included in the debate during the compilation of the HA (which seems more realistic), then maybe all this can be understood as a deliberate misinterpretation of the sources.

Commodus, as the creator of peace, restored the earlier security and also the security of trade with the barbarians. Probably in this period a *clipeus* was erected in the Pfaffenberg of Carnuntum *[Vi]ctoriae [Re]duci [[[Com]modi]] [A]ug(usti)* (Piso 2003, Nr. 16 = AÉp 2003, 1386). Then, at the very beginning of his reign, by modifying the earlier system of tenure, the secularisation of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* took place, which had previously been led by a procurator with the rank of *centenarius*.[289] Pompeius Longus first directed the area as a *conductor*, later as first *procurator* (CIL III 10605 = TRH 212, AÉp 1988, 978).[290] It cannot be a coincidence that an altar, recently published, was erected near the Porolissum defence line[291] at one of the customs' stations and (AÉp 1988, 977) *pro salute et victoria Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [[M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Commodi P(ii) F(elicis)]] Aug(usti) n(ostri) restitutori(s) commerc(iorum)* (cf. AÉp 1988, 978 = 1993, 1326).

Following the victory over the Quadi and Marcomanni, maybe even after the return of Commodus,[292] a peace treaty was concluded with the Buri (LXXII.3 = Exc. U^{G} 68 [p. 413]), with terms for:

1. The provision of hostages.
2. The return of prisoners—15 000 people (from others as well as the Buri) (in the text παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, which was corrected to Ἀλανῶν by Boissevain: III pp. 284–285!).[293]

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[288] Mócsy 1971, 65.

[289] Dobó Á., Publicum portorium Illyrici. DissPann II/16. Budapest 1940, 151, Fitz 1993, 704–711.

[290] Fitz 1993, 704–705, 733, Nr. 415.

[291] N. Gudea, Porolissum. Un complex daco-roman la marginea de nord a imperiului roman. II. Vamã romana. Monografie arheologicã. Contribuţii la cunoaşterea sistemului vamal din provinciile dacice-Porolissum. Ein dakisch-römischer archäologischer Komplex an der Nordgrenze des römischen Reiches. II. Das Zollgebäude. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des römischen Zollsystems in den dakischen Provinzen. Bibliotheca MN XII, 1996.

[292] Alföldi 1942, 201–202, R. J. A. Talbert, Commodus as diplomat in an extract from the Acta senatus. ZPE 71, 1988, 137–148, 142–, Dietz 1993.

[293] If this is true, it may be another piece of ancient data concerning the movement of a people of Iranian origin, related to the Sarmatians, to the Carpathian basin and concern the partial occupation of the Upper Tisza area (cf. *vita Marci* 22.1): Bóna 1986, 63–66.

3. The creation of a 5 MP-wide security zone along the borders of Dacia.[294] Evidently a tough war was fought against the Buri, who, despite their earlier promises (cf. Dio LXXI.18), did not give themselves up. Moreover, Dio refers explicitly to their exhausting battles against the Romans during which they requested peace in vain; it was only granted by Commodus after their full defeat: LXXII.3.1. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὴν αἰτηθείς, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι τε ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ ἀνοχὴν ἐς τὸ παρασκευάσασθαι λαβεῖν ἤθελον τότε δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξετρυχώθησαν…[295] In all likelihood, Flavius Vetulenus, the centurion of *legio III Italica*, then based in Regensburg, participated in this campaign, which he calls *expeditio Burica* on the inscription he erected after his fortunate return (CIL III 5937).[296] Dietz identifies the war with *expeditio III Germanica*, which cannot be excluded, based on Her. I.6.8, where he relates that, following the departure of the emperor, his commanders carried on with the battles: οἳ μὲν οὖν διῴκουν, τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα· οἳ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων ὅπλοις ἐχειρώσαντο.[297] Unfortunately, Dacian events do not support the dating of the event, as the office of the governor, Vettius Sabinianus, can be dated exactly to the period in question (A.D. 179–182).[298] If the events extended to 182 the imperial acclamation of this year could be connected to this event (according to the coin minting of September, 182 [emission 45][299]).[300]

The question may be decided by a Latin papyrus fragment (ChLA IV 268), published in Oxford (Lat. Class. d. 11), which according to Talbert originated from the *Acta senatus* and in which Commodus reports to the senate on the peace made with the Buri.[301] Unfortunately

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[294] Stahl 1989, 306, Nr. 15. The Dacian governor Vettius Sabinianus (179–182 A.D.) settled 12 000 free Dacians in his province in the same period: Erdély története I. Budapest 1986, 69, Fitz 1993, 496–499, Nr. 294.

[295] F. Cassola, I rapporti tra Romani e Buri in Cassio Dione. in: Ricerchi storiche e economiche in memoria di C. Barbagallo I. Napoli 1970, 495–501.

[296] PWRE XII (1924–1925) 1532, H.-J. Kellner, Expeditio Burica. in: Festschrift für M. Spindler. München 1969, 25–29, Böhme 1975, 207, Saldern 2003, 77–83.

[297] Dietz 1993.

[298] Alföldy 1977, 252, Leunissen 1989, 235, Fitz 1993, 496–499, Nr. 294.

[299] Szaivert 1986, 216.

[300] Kienast 1996, 149.

[301] To its supplement: In line 9 of Dietz 1993, 11. In Frag. A the letters *[- -].OSINON* might refer to *Osi*.

the fragments are very incomplete, in the problematic line 7 of Frag. 1. the letters *[- -].iti Bu[-* can be read. Commodus changed his titles at the latest in the middle of 182 (definitely before assuming the Pius title—this already appeared on inscriptions in 181: CIL VIII 11926, 23828, AÉp 1938, 131) and assumed the titles *Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus*. Even if they did not appear on coins, they were still a part of his official titulature as it also appears on the epigraphic copies of the official documents from the imperial chancellery (CIL VIII 10570, 14451).[302] The emperor was saluted as imperator for the fifth time at the end of 182, which was earlier related to events in Mauretania or Dacia.[303] The change in titles, however, took place at approximately the same time, therefore it is also a serious possibility that Commodus Vth imperial acclamation was given after the definite end of the wars against the Germans, after the victory over the Buri. The peace treaty was successful because previously dangerous enemies hardly ever stepped aggressively onto the stage of Roman history during the following decades.

Besides this, however, reorganisation characterised life in Pannonia in the period of Commodus; a fundamental change was made in the defensive system.[304] Apart from Eastern troops, African *cohortes* also arrived in Pannonia; the most important among them were probably the *cohors milliaria* and the *quingenaria Maurorum equitata* (with garrisons in Matrica and Alta Ripa), who had probably participated in the first war in the vexillation led by Valerius Maximianus (*equites Afrorum et Maurorum*).[305] The troops at the beginning were characteristically of African descent.[306] By the time the reorganisations were finished at the beginning of 180, the two provinces were defended by four legions, the *classis*, 12 *alae* and 26 *cohortes* (+ 1 unknown), therefore almost 50 000

[302] Kneissl 1969, 113–115, Dietz 1993, 9–10, Kienast 1996, 149.

[303] Grosso 1964, 519, Kneissl 1969, 114. The Dacian events can probably be dated to 183 and are connected with Commodus' VIth imperial acclamation, when the future emperor, Clodius Albinus, was one of the *legati legionis* in Dacia and Pascennius Niger served in the same province: Dio LXXII.8.1, Stein 1944, 50–51, G. Alföldy, Herkunft und Laufbahn des Clodius Albinus in der Historia Augusta. in: BHAC 1966/67. Bonn 1968, 22, 26, Saldern 2003, 83–84.

[304] Lőrincz 1993, Lőrincz 2001, 92–99.

[305] Lőrincz 2001, 38–39, Nr. 33–34.

[306] B. Lőrincz, Cohors quingenaria Maurorum. Acta ArchHung 41, 1989, 257–263, P. Kovács, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Paternus and the cohort milliaria Maurorum. Acta Antiqua 40, 2000, 239–246.

men.[307] In Pannonia, the reconstruction of most of the palisade-period auxiliary camps into stone strongholds took place during the period of Commodus (known reconstructions: Carnuntum—auxiliary fort, Quadrata, Ad Statuas, Celamantia, Ulcisia Castra, Aquincum-auxiliary fort, Campona, Matrica, Vetus Salina, Intercisa).[308] This date, later than previously thought, was suggested by Bechert at the beginning of the 1970s during his research into gate towers. Square towers jutting out from the line of the fort wall in a ratio 1/3:2/3 can be dated to the period of the Marcomannic wars.[309] Gabler demonstrated this for Pannonia based on his own archaeological observations (Ács-Vaspuszta, Barátföldpuszta) and using the fieldwork of others (primarily based on the datable imported find material).[310] This new construction was surely made after the destruction of the Izsa and Intercisa earth-timber-period forts during the second war.[311] A destruction layer of this period was identified in the auxiliary fort in Matrica, in the area of the *principia*, which has also been confirmed by archeological finds (e.g., pottery of the Wehrgang). During the excavation of the shrine at the fort, a denarius of Marcus from 158/159 was found in the mortar of the wall, while a denarius of Faustina from the year 162 came to light from a post hole of the earth-timber period.[312] This date is confirmed by three building inscriptions from Intercisa that can be dated to 183–185 (RIU 1124 (A.D. 183–185), 1125 (A.D. 180–183), 1126 (A.D. 184–185) referring to construction work of the new unit, the *cohors milliaria Hemesenorum*, inside the fort.[313] Based on the unfortunately greatly fragmented building inscription referring to the reconstruction of the legionary fort of

[307] Lőrincz 1993, 54–55.

[308] Gabler 1977, 145–175, Kovács 2000, 42–43, 55, 89.

[309] Bechert, 1971, 201–287, 242–259.

[310] Gabler 1977, Gabler 1989, 66–67, 642–645, Régészeti kézikönyv, 99, 111.

[311] B. Lőrincz – K. Szabó – Zs. Visy, Neue Forschungen im Auxiliarkastell von Intercisa. in: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. Stuttgart 1986, 362–368, 363, 367, J. Rajtár, Das Holz-Erde-Lager aus der Zeit der Markomannenkriege in Iža. in: Problemen der relativen und absoluten Chronologie ab Latènezeit bis zum Frühmittelalter. Kraków 1992, 149–170, C.-M. Hüssen – J. Rajtár, Zur Frage archäologischer Zeugnisse der Markomannenkriege in der Slowakei. in: Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 217–232, 218, 222, Gabler 1994, 358, K. Kuzmová – J. Rajtár, Bisherige Erkenntnisse zur Befestigung des Römerkastells in Iža. Slovenská Archeológia 34, 1986, 185–222, Kelemantia-Brigetio. Tracing the Romans on the Danube. Trnava 2003, 34–35.

[312] Kovács 2000, 83–84, 89, 93, Nr. 6–7.

[313] Fitz 1961, 208–211, Fitz 1972, 63–64, Nr. 1–3, B. Lőrincz-Zs. Visy, Die Baugeschichte des Auxiliarkastells von Intercisa. Roman Frontier Studies 1979. BAR IS 71, Oxford 1980, 685–686.

Brigetio (RIU 500 = CIL III 11015), it must be pointed out that not every construction detail can be dated to the period of Commodus. The destruction and reconstruction of this legionary fort is also demonstrated by archeological finds (Marcus-age Samian ware finds between the first and second construction levels, a 177-piece denarius hoard [the latest coin dated to 167]).[314] The inscription cannot be dated exactly because of its fragmentary state; it seems, however, to be related to the reconstruction work that started directly after the first war.[315] A series of building inscriptions of *burgi* and *praesidia* (16 pieces are known) along the Eastern Pannonian limes between Aquincum and Intercisa (Bölcske) also belong to the reconstruction program (dated to 183 and 185):

> *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aur(elius) [[Commodus]] Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius Sarm(aticus) Germ(anicus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI imp(erator) IIII co(n)sul IIII p(ater) p(atriae) ripam omnem burgis [a solo extructis item praesidiis per loca opportuna ad clandestinos latrunculorum transitus oppositis munivit per [[L(ucium) Cornelium Felicem Plotianum leg(atum) pr(o) pr(aetore)]].*

The find-spots and the text confirm the hypothesis that it was planned to make the whole *ripa* safer against the *latrunculi*, who can only be identified with the Sarmatians: Intercisa (RIU 1127–1137, S 159—late Roman cemetery, Szalksziget), Százhalombatta (RIU 1426), Aquincum (BudRég 8, 1904, 172, Nr. 10—Victoria Brick Factory), Rákospalota (TRH 239—medieval church), Bölcske (P. Kovács—P. Prohászka, AntTan 47, 2003, 291–299).[316]

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[314] Barkóczi 1951, 16.

[315] Ibid., 16, 26, 62, Nr. 235, Bechert 1971, Bechert 1971, 248–249.

[316] A. Alföldi, Epigraphica IV. ArchÉrt 1941, 30–37, Budapest története I. Budapest 1942. 749, Intercisa II. (Dunapentele). Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit. ArchHung 36. Budapest 1957, 226–227, 208–209, Fitz 1961, 199–204, Mócsy 1962, 639, Nagy 1962, 47, Fitz 1962, 76–77, 83–87, Swoboda 1964, 254–255, Grosso 1964, 487, Fitz 1972, 67–68, Soproni 1996, Régészeti kézikönyv, 103, Fitz 1993, 533–536, Nr. 320, Hekster 2002, 49, Saldern 2003, 104–107, Kovács 2006, 302–310.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE DATING OF THE SCENES ON THE COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS

Based on written sources, the years A.D. 173–174 can be considered as the time of the two miracles. This, however, is by no means confirmed by the internal chronological order of the depictions on the column. An exhaustive examination of the column is necessary.

Up to now some of the most debated research questions about the column are which periods of the war(s) the 116 scenes depict, whether the individual scenes follow each other in chronological order, and whether the individual scenes can be identified with any phases of the war known from ancient sources. When dating, following the footsteps of Domaszewski and Petersen, most researchers have started from the premise that because depictions of Lucius Verus and Commodus are missing from the column, it can only depict the events of the years 169 to 175, beginning from the phase of the war when Roman troops successfully limited military actions to hostile barbarian lands. According to Domaszewski, this was A.D. 171, although most researchers argue for 172, mainly based on the numismatic examinations of Dodd and Dobiáš, according to which the coins from 172, depicting Romans crossing a bridge (RIC III (1930) 270, 1047), are related to a similar opening scene on the column (III).[1] It is also a common opinion that in scene LV, which is similar to Trajan's column, the Victoria figure between the *tropaea* divides the events. According to Domaszewski and his followers, this refers to the two separate phases of the first war, the *bellum Marcomannicum* and the *bellum Sarmaticum* (A.D. 171–172 and A.D. 173–175). The latter date is groundless; the various *bella* cannot be divided this way; the *bellum Sarmaticum* was in process earlier (see the section discussing the names of the war). According to Mommsen and, in his footsteps, Morris (starting year: A.D. 173) and Wolff (starting year: A.D. 174), the events of the second war are depicted from scene LVI (A.D. 178–180). Based Petersen's research, I believe it has now become completely clear that the view that the various scenes do not follow in

[1] Dodd 1913, 193–194, Dobiáš 1932, 128–132.

chronological order is indefensible (Stuart Jones, Strong, Dobiáš, Roos). The various events stand next to each other in an easily followable, consecutive logical order, e.g., the beginning of the campaign at the beginning of the scenes and the dedition following scene XVI (the rain miracle). It is a different question that the choice of subject from among the real-life events is selective; it does not provide an account of events ending unfavourably (see the chapter on the history of research).

All parties to the debate admit that the identification of scenes XI and XVI depicting the rain miracle is certain. As already quoted many times, according to one side of the debate, one must date the scenes of the column according to the date of the miracle provided by Cassius Dio (A.D. 174). The other side emphasises that the chronology of the war (and the scenes) must be set up according to the scenes of the column, and because the miracles are among the first scenes of the column, they must be dated earlier than 174. According to these scholars, the events of the year 174 must appear among the scenes after the Victoria figure following scene LV. That is why the date of the miracle first became 171 (Domaszewski, Weizsäcker), then later 172 (Zwikker, Guey, Birley, etc.), which has been the most accepted date up until today. This apparent contradiction caused the assumption that the scenes are not in chronological order.

Considering this question one must set out from the following principles:

1. Only the identification of scenes XI and XVI is absolutely certain.
2. The scenes are in chronological order.
3. The figures of Lucius Verus and, despite the objections of Morris (cf. scenes LXX and LXVI[2]), Commodus, do not appear on the column. Commodus, however, does appear in the dedition scene on the relief on the footing, along with the figure of Marcus.
4. The war only took place in the Barbaricum; Roman defeat appears nowhere.
5. The Victoria figure with a *tropaeum* after scene LV divides the row of scenes into separate sections.
6. One can exclude the year 171, suggested by Domaszewski, from among the starting years (see below) as battles were still being fought in the Danubian provinces in that year. The major forces (at least)

[2] Cf. Wolff 1989, 28, Anm. 65.

first entered the land of the barbarians in 172, led by Marcus (cf. coin depictions: RIC III [1930] 270, 1047).

7. On the column facing the triumphal arch (cf. the scene of the triumph) there are no signs of erasures or additions from the Severan period. If they had removed the figure of Commodus from the dedition scene on the main direction of the relief strip, why (and when) would they have done this with the upper scenes hardly visible anyway? They would not have had much time to do so during a civil war, and then the *damnatio* was revoked during the consecration of Commodus at the beginning of 195.[3] The repairs "noted" by Morris are probably all Renaissance additions (scenes LXX, CXII–CXIV).[4]
8. Because the following scenes generally indicate the beginning of a new campaign, a new year is also normally accepted by all parties: I, XXX, LVI, LXVIII, and according to Domaszewski, scene CII as well.[5]
9. According to a currently accepted theory going back to the data of Aurelius Victor (to 16.15, and Epit. De Caes. 16.14), the *senatus* and the public voted for the column (possibly together: cf. *vita Marci* 18.3), and during its construction some form of resistance was shown against Commodus, who was not interested in the project.[6] The first part of this statement is a fact, but the second part can hardly be a serious argument. Even such an extroverted personality as Emperor Commodus could not have afforded (or his advisors would not have allowed him) not to nurture in the spirit of the *pietas*, the memory, of his father, who had become a god. As others before him had also done, as Tiberius did in the case of Augustus and Germanicus (Tac. Ann I.8, II.83, III.5, Tabula Siarensis and Hebana), he had the decree of the senate about the construction, but it is indubitable that the eventual planning and final decision were always in his hands. Otherwise one would have to assume that the entire building complex, including the shrine of Divus Marcus, was built without Commodus and against his will. This could hardly have been the case.[7]

[3] Kienast 1996, 148.
[4] Morris 1953, 89–90. E.g., The top section of scene CXII is definitely, and is documented(!) as a Renaissance addition: Caprino 1955, 124. The same applies to the other scene as well: Caprino 1955, 123.
[5] Marcus-Säule, 124.
[6] Most recently Jordan-Ruwe 1990, 68–69.
[7] Hekster 2002, 204.

The reasons for the missing depiction of Commodus must be sought elsewhere. Neither can his absence be explained with the reasoning that the young emperor did not participate in the second war, he was only nearby.[8] I find it impossible that Commodus as *Augustus* would not have been depicted in any of the scenes. No Roman emperor would have tolerated this; moreover, in this way his depiction on the frieze of the footing would become meaningless as well. The only reason for this would have been that Commodus did not participate in the first war. This also suggests why the intention was to depict only the first war on the column. The reason was either that the (planning) work had in fact already started after the 176 triumph, still during Marcus' lifetime, or young Commodus thought that the memory of his father must only be immortalized by the first war, as the second one, in theory, had been waged by the two of them together as co-emperors. Maybe he intended to commemorate the second war differently…

10. The emperor participated in every campaign (or at least was nearby), therefore the column can only be identified with historic events that were led by Marcus personally (or at least he was nearby). In this case only the campaigns against the Quadi-Marcomanni-Sarmatians can be taken into consideration. In relation to the column, therefore, one cannot speak of Dacian events or events even further east, as Marcus' presence there is not recorded.
11. It is also certain that the events of the first campaign on the column, based on the first two miracles, were directed primarily against the Quadi (and the Cotini).
12. Therefore, it is not really likely that the victory over the Marcomanni, giving a name to the wars, would not be present on the column.

As the scenes cannot be connected to known historic events with complete certainty, one must first examine what events the Victoria figure could have divided. As noted above, the column of Marcus Aurelius imitates that of Trajan in many details, which is also true in the case of the Victoria depictions dividing the two campaigns/wars. Wegner

[8] Wolff 1989, 17–23.

has discussed in detail the differences in style between the two;[9] Binachi has collected the parallels on Marcus' coins,[10] and besides Domaszewski, Zwikker and Wolff have discussed the historic aspects in detail.[11] In Zwikker and Wolff's argumentation, although the Dacian war of Trajan was divided into two parts, each of them was followed by triumphs (cf. Fasti Ostienses: a. 102: *[- - - Imp. Traianus] | de Dacis [triump]hávit*).[12] The Victoria figure on Trajan's column refers to this triumph, but neither Marcus' nor Trajan's column ends with the depiction of a triumph. Therefore, the assumption seems logical that the Victoria on Marcus' Column refers to the triumph closing the first war in 176. At the same time, based on the *cursus honorum* inscriptions mentioning the first war, it cannot clearly be divided into two separate phases, into the *bellum Germanicum* and *Sarmaticum*. The few *bella (expeditio) Germanica et Sarmatica* expressions (CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327, AÉp 1920, 45) do not cover a difference in time for certain. It is also clear from the historic facts that there were fights against the Sarmatians even in the first phase, between 169 and 172, while battles against the Germans took place in the second phase, between 173 and 175. The situation, however, is not that simple: Domaszewski is undoubtedly right in suggesting that the fights against the Marcomanni were over in 172, when Marcus Aurelius assumed his *Germanicus* title, and that the Marcomanni did not break the peace later. In this sense, therefore, the *bellum Marcomannicum* was indeed over, and Eutropius openly referred to this: VIII.13. *bellum Marcomannicum confecit*. The coins with the legend *Germania subacta*, whose production started in 172, also refer to this fact (emission 24).[13] It is also a fact, though, that after 172 Marcus' headquarters was no longer Carnuntum, as it had been during the previous three years (VIII.13, Aur. Vict. 16.13, Oros. Hist. 7.15.6, Hier. Chron. 207e [A.D. 177!], Prosper Tiro Chron. 703 p. 431), but Sirmium. The question is whether this date could have been regarded as the dividing line between the wars? The answer is probably yes; therefore, one must not exclude that the scenes only depict the events of the first war merely because

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[9] Marcus-Säule, 97, Wegner 1931, 64–71.

[10] A. Bianchi, La "Vittoria" nella propaganda monetaria dell'et di M. Aurelio (161–180). AIIN 18–19, 197–1972, 153–173, Szaivert 1986, 54–55, 72–73.

[11] Morris 1952, 73–76, Caprino 1955, 100, Marcus-Säule, 106–107, Zwikker 1941, 234, 257, Wolff 1989, 12–14, Wolff 1993, 73–74.

[12] L. Vidman, Fasti Ostienses. Praha 1982², 46, 96–97.

[13] Szaivert 1986, 121, 205.

of the Victoria figure. Domaszewski's proposition is mistaken where he suggests that the war can be divided into a first phase against the Marcomanni and a second phase against the Quadi (Germans) and Sarmatians, namely, that the figure of Victoria probably depicts the end of the battles against the Marcomanni.

The next substantial question relating to the entire problem is: Which campaign opens the column: that of A.D. 172, 173 or 174? In the case of 172, only the scenes of the first war appear, in the case of 173 both of them possible, and in the case of 174 the events of both wars would be shown on the column. The essence of the problem of the rain miracle is that although the ancient sources date the event to 173–174, Cassius Dio's (LXXI.8–10) narrative is only available in an epitome, therefore it is not at all certain that the date of the miracle coincides with the date of the VIIth imperial acclamation, assumed to have taken place in 174. As the two miracles fall into the time of the first campaign as seen on the column, their date therefore determines the date of the acclamation as well. For this reason one must return to the original Domaszewski-Mommsen debate and accept the opinion of Domaszewski, which means that the rain miracle can only be dated by relying on the dating of the scenes on the column.

Normally the scenes are dated from the beginning. Starting from the end instead, examining the end of the two rows of scenes, scenes LIV–LV and CXIV–CXVI gives a different perspective. If the column depicts the two wars, then, based on the historical data, the first war ends with the battles against the Sarmatians and the second war ends with battles against the Marcomanni and the Quadi. If the column only deals with the first war, then the first phase ends with battles against the Marcomanni and the second war with battles against the Sarmatians. According to those who support the first theory, the events of the year 180 could not have been depicted due to Marcus' death; therefore, in this case the events were recorded on the column until the autumn of 179. On scene LIV a barbarian stronghold is successfully by Roman troops protecting a *testudo*, then on the next scene Marcus addresses an *adlocutio* to his victorious units. The barbarian stronghold is visibly built of wood;[14] whether it was a German or Sarmatian stronghold remains an open question. Petersen identified the barbarians shown here as Sarmatians, and Domaszewski identified them as

[14] Hanoune 2000, 209.

Slavs and Marcomanni.[15] Although no strongholds of either group have been discovered, and even earlier mountain strongholds were partially given up,[16] according to the Roman tradition only the Germans, more precisely, the empire of Vannius, had fortified settlements that Tacitus described as *castellum*:

> Tac. Ann. XII.29–30. *eoque castellis sese defensare bellumque ducere statuerat. Sed Iazyges obsidionis impatientes et proximos per campos vagi necessitudinem pugnae attulere, quia Lugius Hermundurusque illic ingruerant. Igitur degressus castellis Vannius funditur proelio.*

The same passage contains a reference to the Iazyges, who cannot stand the siege: *obsidionis impatientes*; for this reason one can suppose that the stronghold of scene LIV refers to fights against the Germans. If the scene really depicts the war against the Marcomanni, then it is not impossible that it shows the seizure of a Marcomanni centre such as the one that once stood in Mušov-Burgstall. This centre may really be the same as Φηλικία mentioned by Ptolemy (II.11.15), as Gnirs has suggested.[17] Not only topographic data apply here, but it may also be confirmed by a wall graffitto found in room IV of the building inside the fort: *[- - -] icia*.[18] The central role of the site is not only suggested by the Roman camps there, but by the royal German grave discovered nearby.[19] The exact location of the German centre is as yet unknown. The situation is simpler in the other case. Following the peace agreement depicted in scene CXXII, the Roman troops rest (CXIV), then the barbarians pay their tribute to Marcus; following this the resettlement scene is next (CXV). Based on the direction of the march the scene definitely depicts settlement into the empire and not out of it, as in the case of Trajan's column (scene CLV), where the figures are marching in the other direction! The scene on Trajan's column shows the capture of refugees (CXVI). These scenes are not identical to the events occurring at the end of year 179, when the Marcomann-Quadian question was far from settled.[20] These events, however, were similar to the events in 175, when the Sarmatians were defeated and surrendered. Based on

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[15] Marcus-Säule, 71, 119.
[16] K. Pieta, Mittel- und Nordslowakei zur Zeit der Markomannenkriege. In: Markomannenkriege. Ursache und Wirkungen. Brno 1994, 256–257.
[17] Gnirs 1976, 58–60.
[18] Gnirs 1976, 90, Abb. 5 (with incorrect reading: ICIR).
[19] J. Peska – J. Tejral, Das germanische Königsgrab von Mušov in Mähren. Monogr. RGZM 55. Mainz 2002.
[20] See below in detail.

all of this it is necessary to conclude, with great probability, that only the events of the first war appear on Marcus' Column.

What stems from this conclusion? The rain miracle can be dated to A.D. 172 based on the scenes on the column, while according to the written sources it can be dated to 173 or 174. How can these different data be harmonised? Has the rain miracle to be dated to 172 or does the column really depict the events of the war from 173? The written sources unanimously date the rain miracle to 173 or 174. It is apparent that the date of 174 refers to the VIIth imperial acclamation and not to the rain miracle. The epitomist might have omitted the events between the miracle and the acclamation from the excerpts. This is why 171 emerges (following the VIIth imperial acclamation), which only appeared in the emperor's coin production in the following October [emission 23]).[21] Therefore, neither of the summers between the years 172 and 174 can be excluded, considering that Cassius Dio believed that the rain miracle was the main event of the imperial acclamation and the campaign of Marcus Aurelius. There are problems with other issues as well, not only with the dating of the rain miracle. It has already become clear from the historic summary that the campaigns starting against the barbarians in 172 started with military operations against the Quadi, during which the Cotini were also forced to surrender. The defeat of the Marcomanni only took place following this, and afterwards Marcus assumed the *Germanicus* title at the end of 172. These events, based on an almost entirely common understanding among researchers, correspond to the first or second row of scenes of the campaign. Based on the sources, therefore, scene LV would finish with the surrender of the Marcomanni in 172. Based on this, however, the painstakingly determined sequence of the column would be unbalanced; the first part of the column would show the events of the first year, while three years (173–175) of the campaign would be displayed in scenes LVI–CXVI. This is primarily the reason for the theory becoming widespread, due to Zwikker, that Marcus' victory over the Marcomanni and assumption of the *Germanicus* title would still have taken place in 173.[22] Based on all this, the scenes of the column and the data of the written sources cannot be connected. The possibility must be examined that the col-

[21] Szaivert 1986, 121, 204.
[22] Zwikker 1941, 187–196.

umn starts from the year 173, as suggested by Rohde and Morris;[23] according to Wolff's theory the starting year was A.D. 174.[24] In both cases the first part, from a Roman point of view the most important, would be missing: the victory over the Marcomanni, the old enemy, the one who invaded Italy. In my opinion this possibility goes against rational consideration.

Based on my reasoning above, there are only two options left:

1. The date of Marcus' (and Commodus') assumption of the *Germanicus* name is incorrect. This took place in 173, therefore scenes I–LV describe the events of the years 172 to 173. This clarifies the reappearance of the Cotini in scene LXIX of the column. Who else could the barbarian prisoners be with torques around their necks (therefore definitely Celtic)[25] depicted in the scene?[26] This, namely A.D. 174, was the year of the second defeat and annihilation of this Celtic people, also mentioned by Cassius Dio (LXXI.12.3).
2. The first section of the column only follows the events of the year 172; the campaigns against the Quadi and the Marcomanni took place in that same year. Stemming from this, scenes LVI–CXVI had to cover three years, just as Domaszewski originally suggested. Only the events of the year 174 could come after scene LXXVII, while only the events of the year 175 could come after scene CII.

There is yet another possibility. What if Domaszewski's original idea is correct[27] that the events of the year 171 also appear on the column? Can the victory over the Quadi and the two miracles be dated to 171? What is their relationship to other events redported by the sources, especially to the expulsion of the Marcomanni and the Quadi from the provinces? Domaszewski therefore also raised the possibility that the Christian epitomist of Dio's work, confused the numbers of the acclamations, instead of the VIIth only the VIth (171) would have stood in the original work of Dio, which means instead of ϛ he would have mistakenly read ζ; instead of six in the Byzantine version of the

[23] Rohde 1924, 102, Morris 1952, 74–76.
[24] Wolff 1989, 18–23, Wolff 1993, 74–77.
[25] No other Celtic tribes apart from the Osi are mentioned among the participants of the war in any of the sources: cf. Zwikker 1941, 14–24.
[26] Marcus-Säule, 75–76, 120–121, Zwikker 1941, 270, Caprino 1955, 104.
[27] Domaszewski 1895, Marcus-Säule, 107–115.

Milesian numerical system (by that time the digamma was obsolete and they were using the stigma instead),[28] he read seven.[29] He may have deliberately corrected the work of Dio according to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, as the epitomist definitely used his work (it is enough to refer to the representation of the Christian version of the story of the rain miracle [Dio LXXI.9]). In this way the date of the rain miracle would have shifted from 174 to 171 and the event could be connected to the great victory mentioned by Dio earlier (ἰσχυροτάτου ἀγῶνος καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγενημένης) (LXXI.3.4). Due to the easily exchangeable similar letters, Domaszewski's suggestion is legitimate: Xiphilinus connected the story copied out earlier to the wrong date. A personal mistake by the historian, Cassius Dio, is less likely. This assumptions can be more probable, because Marcus rejected a request for rewards by the soldiers in A.D. 171 for reasons that included, among others, the growing hardships of the soldiers' families, as follows: περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. The question of divine intervention also emerged in relation to this victory. Especially the ὁ θεὸς μόνος form used by Marcus created even better grounds for the Christianisation of the miracle. If this suggestion is verified, it also means the following:

1. The rain miracle took place during the summer of 171, and was part of events prior to Marcus' IVth imperial acclamation (before October 171). Thus, the Christian tradition of the year 173 is mistaken.
2. The campaign against the Quadi and the Cotini started a year earlier, as depicted in scenes I–XXIX of the column.
3. The ousting of the Marcomanni and the Quadi from Roman lands probably had already taken place in 170, but at the latest by the early spring of 171. Think of the mission of Pertinax to lead the *legio I adiutrix*, during which he first cleansed Raetia and Noricum (vita Pert. 2.6).
4. The victory described in Dio LXXI.3.3 was not associated with the latter event, that victory was only immortalised by the scene described by the *vita Marci* 21.10 and Dio, during which Pertinax earned distinction, and women were also found among the dead barbarians lying on the battlefield (LXXI.3.2).

[28] W. Larfeld, Griechische Epigraphik. München 1914, 294.
[29] Domaszewski 1895, 123, Anm. 1, 125.

5. The coins RIC III (1930) 270, 1047 172 depicting a bridge on the Danube refer retrospectively to the events of the previous year.
6. In this case, scenes LVI–CXVI must cover three years: A.D. 173: LVI–LXXVII (the capture of Ariogaisos), 174: LXXVIII–CI and 175: CII–CXVI.
7. The main wars against the Germans thus really end at the end of 172 and this is when the emperor (and his son) assumed the *Germanicus* title.
8. The weak point of this argumentation is that nowhere does the expulsion of the barbarians from Roman soil appear; the coin emissions of the emperor from 170 do not refer to it and neither is it confirmed by another imperial acclamation (or another title).

Based on these comments, therefore, this much seems to be proven: that Marcus' Column only depicts the events of the first war, that military operations against the Marcomanni were definitely included, but the starting year for the scenes of the column could be 171 or 172. The origin of the rain miracle story can be dated to 174 because of Xiphilinus' mistake, but the event really occurred during the summer of 171.

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